ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation:	PERCEPTIONS AND PRACTICES OF ACADEMIC INTEGRITY AMONG CHINESE AND KOREAN STUDENTS IN BUSINESS AND COMPUTER SCIENCE DEPARTMENTS AT MID-ATLANTIC UNIVERSITIES IN THE U.S.
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Academic integrity has been a sticky topic in higher education for a long time, but has recently come to the fore, as stories about both how prevalent cheating has become and how problematic teaching and learning practices serve to only reinforce a culture of cheating. As part of this, multiple stories have arisen about how international students, particularly those from East Asia, are more likely to cheat, with several reports speaking about how prevalent test cheating, credential fraud, and plagiarism are among these students. However, these stories almost always speak of how international students have failed to understand what academic integrity is or failed to care about such an important topic. This is likewise reflected in a great deal of research, which takes a deficit approach to international student understandings of academic integrity and a punitive approach towards violations of academic integrity. One key feature missing from the

majority of studies of academic integrity among international students has been the experiences and perspectives of international students themselves, particularly those from East Asia.

This study sought to address this by engaging directly with students from two East Asian countries, China and South Korea, who had experiences with academic integrity violations, in a discussion of their understandings, experiences, and practices of academic integrity. Using general qualitative methodology informed by thematic analysis for data analysis, I engaged in semi-structured interviews with 15 students at three mid-Atlantic universities, all of whom were majoring in either business or computer science, the most popular majors for international students at the time of data collection. Data analysis was informed by labelling theory, attribution theory, and Bourdieu's concepts of cultural capital and habitus, all of which combined to offer insights into participants' testimony. Findings indicate substantial similarities among participant experiences regardless of major, nationality, and institution, particularly regarding perceptions of a lack of resources and information about academic integrity rules and practices, as well as perceived inconsistencies in academic integrity standards, rule enforcement, and coherence with real-world practices. It is my hope that the findings here can help challenge the monotonic and punitive policies in place for student academic integrity violations at many US institutions of higher education, and that they can help to inform future policies and practices of academic integrity practitioners. It is also my hope that the findings can be used to help promote Bertram Gallant and Eaton's ideas of a culture of integrity which serves all members of the academic community.

PERCEPTIONS AND PRACTICES OF ACADEMIC INTEGRITY AMONG CHINESE AND KOREAN STUDENTS IN BUSINESS AND COMPUTER SCIENCE DEPARTMENTS AT MID-ATLANTIC UNIVERSITIES IN THE U.S.

by

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Dedication

To my daughter, Sophia Kim DeCoster. Daddy loves you, boo boo girl.

Acknowledgements

With yet one more action, with yet one more word, we calm and comfort ourselves.

-Kim Kwang Seok, "Arise"

(my translation)

There are too many people to list here for me to properly include them. I will simply proceed in an undignified manner and attempt to ensure that I have cast my net wide enough to ensnare at least some of those who have been so pivotal for me in this jaunt into a nebulous and enigmatic stage of my life.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Academic integrity: A confusing notion

Academic integrity lives multiple lives in the popular conscience and the lifeworld of institutions of higher education (IHEs) in the US. It is seemingly everywhere, as popular media stories abound on politicians whose credentials are false, stories of test-cheating rings, fraudulent admissions, and tales of how the Chinese admissions system to US institutions of higher education is broken (Redden, 2019; Stecklow et al, 2016). It is present on syllabi, in emails, in codes of conduct, and in pledges on homework, quizzes, and tests. Yet, at the same time, it is a phenomenon whose actual form and content remain largely unexamined and unknown. The exhortation of instructors to avoid plagiarism is well documented (Adhikari, 2018; Lang, 2013), and is indeed either required or strongly suggested under most university codes of conduct (ICAI, 2014).

However, when it comes to actually examining whether these exhortations lead to true honesty and no copying, research is surprisingly sparse and inconclusive (Colnerud & Rosander, 2009; Lang, 2013; McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012). Indeed, when it comes to certain forms of academic dishonesty, it is nearly impossible to detect whether or not they have taken place (Malesky, Baley, & Crow, 2016). Thus, when people pay someone else to write a paper for them, particularly in online classes, it is essentially undetectable to plagiarism detection systems and human eyes (Malesky, Baley, & Crow, 2016; Tomar, 2012; Curtis & Clare, 2017). Surprisingly, despite recent assurances to the contrary from the same technology

companies which promise foolproof plagiarism detection, this remains true even now (Newton, 2018).

There is also the question of what is meant by academic integrity, something which is far more contentious than would seem to be the case at first glance (Cox, La Caze, & Levine, 2017; Dworkin, 1986). In particular, the idea of self-plagiarism (Carney & Thurman, 2018), which typically involves submitting the same work for multiple assignments, publications, or conferences, is currently the subject of ongoing discussion in scholarly journals, conferences, and classrooms (Horbach & Halffman, 2017) as well as increasing penalization for undergraduates (Palmer, Pegrum, & Oakley, 2018).

For the majority of institutes of higher education in the United States, in the case of undergraduates, the issue appears to be rather cut and dried: codes of conduct now state that any usage of work from courses outside the current course is not permitted, particularly if the same work is submitted for a grade in two separate courses (Bertram Gallant, 2008; ICAI, 2014). As an example of this, the University of Maryland's (2019) code of academic integrity states that self-plagiarism is the "reuse of substantial identical or nearly identical portions of one's own work in multiple courses without prior permission from the current instructor or from each of the instructors if the work is being submitted for multiple courses in the same semester" (III-1.00, 1E). This policy clearly puts the onus on students to obtain permission from one or more instructors to use their own work in more than one context. Moreover, in this way, it appears that the right to determine where their own work is used belongs not to students, but rather to instructors, as it is they who have the authority to

determine where this work can be used. This portrays course instructors as the designated controllers of the "copyright" on said work.

Current punishment for cases of academic integrity violation at institutions following recommendations of the International Center for Academic Integrity (ICAI) are typically a failing grade on an assignment, a failing grade in the course with a special notation to designate that this is due to academic dishonesty, and the requirement to take an online, non-credit-bearing course on academic integrity before other courses can be taken (ICAI, 2014; Pavela, 1997). As such, the situation is clear: it is unacceptable to "self-plagiarize," and instances of it shall be punished in a clear and prescribed manner.

Different standards among different academic actors

However, the seeming universality of rules for undergraduates, at US institutions at least, is not matched by universal rules for other actors, calling into question the validity of statements made about the commonsense nature of ideas of citation, attribution, and plagiarism by many instructors and administrators (Bertram Gallant & Drinan, 2007; Chandrasoma, Thompson, & Pennycook, 2004; Isbell, Chaudhuri, & Schaeffer, 2018). In academic publishing and conferences, there has been a time-honored tradition in certain fields of scholarship of using one's own work in both papers and conferences, or at multiple conferences, in order to allow for a more open spread of knowledge and a greater ability to debate and clarify ideas (Carney & Thurman, 2018; Horbach & Halffman, 2017). This has not, however, been the case for every field, with some being very clear that no matter what the forum, all work must be original and not copied or repeated from anywhere else, even one's

own work, without clear attribution (Horbach & Halffman, 2017). Moreover, as digitization of content continues to expand and the ability to automatically detect copied and fabricated content improves, it is becoming clear that there is also a tradition of copying one's own work, including fabricated work, in more than one peer-reviewed journal article without attribution (Carlisle, 2017; Carney & Thurman, 2018; Hodges et al, 2017). This occurs despite the clear exhortation of many journals and professional associations that such behavior is unacceptable (Fang, Steen, & Casadevall, 2012). In recent times, the exhaustive and ongoing work of Elizabeth Bik has highlighted just how prevalent both fabrication and recycling can be in certain disciplines, as well as how little such work is retracted (Shen, 2020). Indeed, in many cases, retracted articles are still cited multiple times and are either not fully removed or are still available to be cited on popular platforms (Bozzo, Bali, Evanley, & Ghert, 2017; Grienensen & Zhang, 2012).

Beyond this, though, there are multiple standards at different journals about what amount of self-plagiarism is acceptable, with virtually all journals accepting some amount of self-plagiarism which they deem to be necessary or convenient for the purposes of their fields (Carney & Thurman, 2018). How this amount is established, how it is qualified and quantified, and how it is adjudicated in cases where ethics complaints are levied are not specified in all but a few codes of conduct, though several researchers have established a baseline of 10% matching similarity as being the upper limit of what is acceptable; this, though, has been based on convenience or instinct rather than systematic investigation of the practices of journals (Hodges et al, 2017). Indeed, in recent times, several editorials have

appeared in scholarly journals seeking to specifically address the issue of self-plagiarism, no two of which have indicated the same position (Carney & Thurman, 2018).

Thus, even this one small aspect of academic integrity is interpreted and adjudicated in multiple ways depending on constituency and arena. When the academic actor changes, so also change rules and concepts of academic integrity, often without any spoken rhyme or reason (Isbell, Chaudhuri, & Schaeffer, 2018). Thus, different professors have different standards for what they will refer as an academic integrity violation; different journals and journal editors also vary in what they deem to be acceptable self-plagiarism; student understandings, of course, may be completely at odds with all of these (Bretag et al., 2014; Carney & Thurman, 2018; Lang, 2013). However, this does not apply only to actors, but also to fields. When addressing academic integrity in general, the differences and discrepancies among actors and fields multiply, leaving even more issues in their wake. For example, while many universities have one consistent code of conduct for students, such as is the case at those institutions following the ICAI guidelines (ICAI, 2022), others are highly diverse in the number of codes of student conduct possible and the items which they cover (McGrail & McGrail, 2015). New York University, for example, has at least 14 different department-specific policies of academic integrity for students beyond its central academic integrity policy, some of which are very specific and some of which are very broad (New York University, 2019). Thus, what may be acceptable for a student in one department is seen as a violation of academic integrity in another, particularly in regards to how violations are punished and what allowances

are made for learning and student development (McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012). It is worthwhile to note here as well that this does not even take into account individual variance among faculty members and staff concerning how academic integrity is conceptualized and enacted in daily practice (Coren, 2011).

Despite the multiple inconsistencies among policies, there is one consistent aspect of academic integrity policies, which is that they focus on the actions of undergraduates above all, even when they refer to all members of the academic community (Bertram Gallant, 2008; McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012; McGrail & McGrail, 2015). Indeed, research into undergraduate academic integrity is largely separate from any research into practices of the professoriate or administration (Bertram Gallant, 2008; Marques, Reis, & Gomes, 2019; McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012). Thus, most codes of conduct focus on issues common to students, such as plagiarism, self-plagiarism, cheating on tests, and fabrication of results (Bayer, 2004; ICAI, 2014). For example, undergraduates who buy an essay off the internet and submits it as their own work is in clear violation of academic integrity rules under the most common codes of conduct (ICAI, 2014; McGrail & McGrail, 2015, Sivasubramaniam et al., 2016). Under these same codes, if this student tells another member of the academic community about having done this, the other person may also be liable for academic misconduct if she/he does not report the original student immediately (ICAI, 2014; McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012; Pavela, 1997). In practice, this typically only applies to students, even though professors routinely ignore or fail to report academic integrity violations involving students (Coren, 2011; Thomas, 2017). As such, there is a clear disconnect between policies,

the practices of students, the practices of the professoriate, and the judgments of professors on student practices (Coren, 2011; Choi & Marchione, 2019; Qiu, 2019). Thus, when a professor or administrator comments that students should simply be aware of rules of academic integrity and that it is not the responsibility of the academy to teach something which should already be clear to students (ICAI, 2014; Isbell, Chaudhuri, & Schaeffer, 2018; Lang, 2013), it is a demonstration of just how far-removed perceptions can be from realities.[1]

Internationalization and academic integrity

This focus on undergraduate academic integrity meets a very important phenomenon in US institutes of higher education, which is their increased internationalization through multiple avenues. Research partnerships and multi-country collaborations are becoming more widespread, particularly in hard sciences (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Chapman & Lupton, 2004; Hodges et al, 2017). Beyond this, universities throughout the US are actively recruiting international students, as they pay far more than local students and must also have guaranteed financial means to pay for their schooling, housing, and any other ancillary costs associated with a university experience (Adhikari, 2018; Beasley, 2016; US ICE, 2021). Over the last decade, the number of international students in the US has risen precipitously, topping one million, and representing approximately 5% of all higher education students in 2016 (Adhikari, 2018; SEVIS, 2018), and many US IHEs have made it a

[1] As an example of this, Ryerson University's policy, held in high esteem at the 2019 Canadian Symposium on Academic Integrity, clearly states that "it is your responsibility as a student to know what is expected of you in university" (https://www.ryerson.ca/academicintegrity/students/what-is-integrity-and-misconduct/).

goal to increase their international student bodies as much as possible in the name of increased tuition revenues and higher standing in international rankings (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Stein & de Andreotti, 2015). With such an increase in a population of students who do not hail from the US, it is surprising that many institutions have not actively confronted the fact that assumptions made about higher education and academic integrity can vary largely based on national culture, preferring instead to rely on a set of definitions of academic integrity based largely on students in the 1960s in the US (Heckler & Forde, 2015; McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012).

Indeed, while there are more than fifty years' worth of survey data regarding academic misconduct available, these data are almost entirely based on simple questionnaires which rely on a set of behaviors classified as "cheating" by William Bowers in 1963-1964, examining students at US IHEs. Bowers' definitions were based on his questionnaires directed at typical students, few if any of whom were international in origin (Bowers, 1963; McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012). When Bowers conducted his study, there were less than a third of the current number of international students at IHEs in the US (IIE, 2017). Moreover, Bowers did not bother to ask about the background of students in his sample beyond sex, religion, and socioeconomic status (Bowers, 1963; McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012); that is, he did not identify whether the students were born and educated in the U.S. – let alone whether they were citizens of other countries. Even with this small set of identifying characteristics, when Bowers tried to use his own survey data for a comparative study in 1994, he found that little comparison was possible based on the completely changed nature of the institutions he studied and, particularly, the huge

change in the gender ratio of students (McCabe & Bowers, 1994). Yet Bowers' framework, which will be described later, continues to be used in surveys of academic misconduct, even international surveys, with only a very few researchers trying to include responses from students in regards to their perceptions of what academic integrity means and what violations of academic integrity are. Most notably, Ashworth et al. (1997 and 2003) are the only two studies that have explicitly sought to engage with student understandings of concepts of academic integrity and violations of academic integrity, both of which found that there is a large amount of confusion arising between what academic integrity is and what it means, from moral and practical perspectives, to engage in it. To date, fewer than ten studies have sought to actively engage international students in an examination of academic integrity from their own perspectives and experiences (Bista, 2011; Bretag et al., 2014; Isbell et al., 2018; Kim & LaBianca, 2017). As such, US institutions of higher education, while actively seeking out international students and international collaboration, have neglected to consider the ramifications of having even a more extensive variety of understandings of what exactly academic integrity means, even though it is patently clear that there is no easy definition or even set of behaviors associated with academic integrity in all situations.

A corollary to this is the fact that international students are reported to have disproportionally engaged in academic integrity violations, with plagiarism being the most common (Beasley, 2016; Fass-Holmes, 2017). Surprisingly, this is not a well-established finding, since many institutions simply do not keep records of which students are found guilty of academic integrity violations (Jordan & Belkin, 2016).

Nonetheless, the few studies which have been done have shown that the percentage of international students found guilty of an academic integrity violation is anywhere from five to ten times higher than that for domestic students (Beasley, 2016; Fass-Holmes, 2017; Jordan & Belkin, 2016). It is important to note here that in absolute numbers, domestic students can have more overall adjudications for academic integrity than international students, though in at least one study, international students still had greater total adjudications than domestic students (Beasley, 2016). This is characterized in many forums as being evidence of how international students are just more likely to cheat than domestic students, something with a history in Western IHEs dating back to Hegel, who accused Chinese persons of being fundamentally immoral and given to cheating (Han, 2017). More recent examples of this take the form of the scandals at Duke University and the University of Maryland, In the case of the former a dean told students not to speak anything but English even during their own free time as it would lead to distrust and make people suspect them of talking behind their backs (Redden, 2019). In the case of the latter a professor echoed Hegel's sentiments, stating that Chinese students would always cheat and that this was his reason for always being extremely vigilant of Chinese above other students (Redden, 2019).

As such, there is a characterization of international students as being simply more given to cheating and academic integrity violations, more so than domestic students, in multiple fora, by administrators, professors, and the news media (Bertram Gallant, Binkin, & Donohue, 2015; Han, 2017; Redden, 2019). However, the aforementioned set of surveys consistently find that more than half of all

undergraduate students engage in academic integrity violations during their studies (McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012), while recent events related to fraudulent admissions practices demonstrate that domestic students and their parents are actively engaging in the sorts of behaviors which international students find themselves accused of routinely (Redden, 2019; Yan, 2019). Thus, while international students may be more likely to be accused and found guilty of academic integrity violations, it does not necessarily follow that they are engaging in such behavior more frequently than domestic students. Rather, it may simply be that domestic students are less likely to be accused and found guilty of academic integrity violations even when they engage in them, possibly because they are less closely monitored by faculty, staff, and other students (Bertram Gallant, Binkin, & Donohue, 2015). Moreover, it may also be that international students are not lacking in knowledge of academic integrity, but rather in the preferred way to demonstrate academic integrity in US IHEs, something which has been noted already by several scholars in regards to proper usage of citations, manner of paraphrasing, and amount of quotations compared to original writing (Chandrasoma, Thompson, & Pennycook, 2004; Pecorari & Petric, 2014; Pennycook, 1996).

The implications of this are potentially dire for international undergraduates. What is ethical and an example of integrity in China is not necessarily thus in the US, while what is an example of integrity for a student in one department is not the same for a student in another department (Han, 2017). The possibilities of huge ethical lapses going unchecked and unreported, or of small issues being seen as grounds for excessive punishment, as well as malicious prosecutions of students who do not share

a particular understanding of academic integrity, can all create exactly the sorts of international issues that are so commonly shown in popular media. By not clearly addressing what academic integrity really means to those who are bound by it, there is likely to be limited understanding of what reality actually is; instead, there is only a reliance on notions of what was reported in a time when many academic integrity violations were never reported or even found out, something which recent technical advances are just starting to uncover (Bayer, 2004; Coren, 2011; Fanelli, 2009; Fang, Steen, & Casadevall, 2012). Put simply, what international students actually think about academic integrity, and what various professors and administrators think international, as well as domestic, undergraduates actually think, remains unclear and unexamined.

Purpose of the study

This study seeks to address exactly these gaps in knowledge. By examining the understandings of the most numerous groups of international students at US institutions of higher education, I attempt to elucidate what academic integrity means in US higher education to these particular groups of international students (viz., Chinese and Korean), specifically those in the most popular majors (viz., business and computer science) for international students (IIE, 2018). In particular, I hope to investigate differences among persons who have experience with academic integrity violations, examining their understandings and how they differ based on group membership. In particular, the questions I seek to answer are as follows:

1: How are both academic integrity and violations of it conceived of at US universities by undergraduate Chinese and Korean students in business and computer science departments?

2: How is the adjudication process for academic integrity violations [AIVs], particularly in regards to punishment, conceived of and interpreted by undergraduate Chinese and Korean students in business and computer science departments?

3: What differences, if any, exist between the conceptions of Chinese and Korean undergraduate students in computer science and business departments concerning a) academic integrity violations and b) the process of dealing with AIVs?

Significance of this Study

One of the most important aspects of this study is its potential to illuminate how a largely monotonic and punitive model of enforcement of academic integrity is understood and experienced by those it is meant to both serve and police. To date, very few studies have examined this, and as a result, policies regarding academic integrity are often put in place owing to administrators' and faculty members' instincts and assumptions rather than an actual examination of their uptake and understanding by students. Particularly as such policies pertain to international students, there is a need to examine how academic integrity is understood and experienced, as well as how punishments are perceived and integrated into their understandings of academic integrity. To date, very few studies have sought to do this (Bista, 2011; Isbell et al., 2018), leading to a situation in which punishment is sought for supposed academic integrity violations without an understanding of what the effect of this punishment actually is. The results of this study may thus prove very

useful in evaluating the effectiveness of policies and the likelihood that they will have their desired results.

Taking this information from another perspective, this study may be able to illuminate better paths towards actually encouraging the practice of academic integrity in a meaningful way among international students by seeking out their understandings of notions of integrity and how they practice them in their own learning. Particularly by drawing on how understandings are shared and not shared among students, this study may be able to point towards policies and/or practices which can be more effective in promoting shared understandings and practices of academic integrity. With more IHEs pushing towards greater internationalization and with a proliferation of high-profile cases of academic integrity violations such as those mentioned previously, such information may prove quite valuable in efforts to facilitate the creation of new policies and practices surrounding academic integrity.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction: A difficult definition

Academic integrity in higher education is a very difficult topic to address, as even in supposedly homogeneous circumstances, there are multiple understandings of what is, should be and should not be considered part of academic integrity (McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012; Pabian, 2015). Many scholars have noted just how unclear definitions of academic integrity are in higher education, particularly given that many institutions prefer to include a blanket statement that whatever an instructor perceives to be a violation of academic integrity constitutes one (McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012; McGrail & McGrail, 2015). Such statements are in fact recommended by the International Committee on Academic Integrity (ICAI), which, while stating that academic integrity exists at a cultural and institutional level (2014), also reinforces Pavela's (1997) model code of academic integrity in which all responsibility for knowing the code belongs to the student, and in which prompt punishment of student academic integrity violations is emphasized. The trouble with this statement is that it already embeds an understanding that academic integrity is a question of judging the work of students, and that even if the code is ostensibly applicable to all members of the institution of higher education, in practice, it is meant only to apply to undergraduates (Bertram Gallant & Drinan, 2007; Pabian, 2015). Furthermore, when adding an international dimension to academic integrity, it has been well established that differences in culture, level of acculturation, and biases regarding race, religion, and ethnicity can all play a role in who is singled out for

engaging in academic integrity violations (Chandrasoma, Thompson, & Pennycook, 2004; Draper & Newton, 2017; Fass-Holmes, 2017; Gajda, 2009; Lang, 2013). Because of this, examining existing literature on academic integrity requires a sort of sifting through a great many fields and foci, as well as the establishment of clear terms to refer to what exactly is being examined. Indeed, a syncretistic perspective on academic integrity is perhaps the most appropriate, given that multiple constituencies are all acting within institutional boundaries and definitions of what is and is not acceptable in terms of practices of academic integrity (Swidler, 2006). This is to say that while in any given institution there are several established sets of rules which govern academic integrity, in practice these rules are enacted and governed by specific cultural group norms, each of which might only be able to express itself in a viable fashion through a means which does not necessarily correspond to the perceived violation of integrity (Geertz, 1996; Swidler, 2006).

The following review of literature begins with an examination of what is meant by integrity, followed by a discussion of the multiple terms which are used to refer to aspects of it. It examines the multiple definitions of academic integrity and how they apply to differently to different participants in higher education, noting especially how the same action or event may be characterized as cheating for students but standard practice for administrators or professors. The review examines differences in the application of rules to different groups, taking the example of self-plagiarism. Finally, the review describes the gap in research on academic integrity among international students, noting the tendency to use US standards even in international research of academic integrity violations (henceforth AIVs) and the lack

of focus on how AIV adjudications are disproportionally punitive towards international students.

Defining integrity

One very notable feature of the common usage of the word "integrity" in higher education is that it is almost never defined (McGrail & McGrail, 2015). Instead, the much more commonly defined terms are cheating, misconduct, and dishonesty. These terms, by far the most used in codes of conduct and the popular media (DeCoo, 2002; McGrail & McGrail, 2015; Redden, 2015; Tyre, 2016), share one very large commonality in that they presuppose intent, and are most commonly applied to the actions of individuals (DeCoo, 2002). Beyond this, none of these terms can be used to refer to the actions of an institution, and in most instances, they are used far more frequently to refer to the actions of students than to the actions of anyone else. As such, they are problematic to use when referring to academic integrity incidents, since from the beginning, they presuppose certain restrictions which may be inappropriate. It is for this reason that the absence of a definition of integrity is puzzling, since while it is included in almost every university code of conduct, it is necessary to look outside of research on higher education to find a definition (McGrail & McGrail, 2015).

The philosophy of law offers a definition of integrity which serves well in this case. At its most basic, the notion of integrity implies coherence, completeness, and consistency (Eleftheriadis, 2010). As noted by Cox, La Caze, and Levine (2017), integrity, as it relates to the individual, "seems to include two fundamental intuitions:

first, that integrity is primarily a formal relation one has to oneself, or between parts or aspects of one's self; and second, that integrity is connected in an important way to acting morally, in other words, there are some substantive or normative constraints on what it is to act with integrity" (p. 1).

This is to say that integrity is not simply an unconscious set of guidelines akin to instinct, but rather a formal set of rules that must be consciously applied. Furthermore, it indicates that there is a strong, albeit opaque, linkage between integrity and morality. However, this meaning does not take into account the institutional form of integrity. The legal scholar Ronald Dworkin (1986), examining integrity in regards to the state, defines it thus:

> (it is) the catch phrase that we must treat like cases alike. It requires government to speak with one voice, to act in a principled and coherent manner toward all its citizens, to extend to everyone the substantive standards of justice or fairness it uses for some (p. 165).

Thus, there is a clear similarity to the above meaning in regards to the ideas of completeness, coherence, and consistency (Cox, La Caze, & Levine, 2017), but there is also the idea that integrity has a direct relation to rights, fairness, and justice. Dworkin (1986) took what he called a "checkerboard" approach to rights as an example of how integrity fulfills this role in regulatory systems. A checkerboard approach would be one in which two opposing groups would agree to a compromise wherein each one would get a Nash optimal outcome, such that no change would lead to any better deal for either group (Beale, 2003), even though this would entail compromise of principles (Dworkin, 1986). This is to say that while neither side gets

their desired outcome outright, they get at least part of it in a way such that both sides benefit equally, and any other outcome would result in one side or the other receiving a subpar outcome.

As an example of this, consider a situation in which both faculty and students are found to be engaging in self-plagiarism, a behavior which is in violation of academic integrity. Students argue that their actions are due to institutional issues and that faculty do the same things, and to punish only students for such behavior is not fair. Faculty, on their end, argue that academic integrity is different for them, since they are in the position of the creation and dissemination of knowledge and thus must be granted latitude in areas such as self-plagiarism and repeated submission of the same paper or abstract to journals and conferences (Downes, 2017). Each group argues that they should have the right to self-plagiarize, but that the other should not.

With this as the case, one checkerboard approach would be to allow students to self-plagiarize six months of the year, while academics can self-plagiarize six months of the year. Such a solution could be seen as equitable in that the rights of each party are maintained in an equitable manner; however, this solution shows how arbitrary the rule is, meaning that despite its supposed fairness, the rule itself removes its validity, since the spirit of the rule should push towards one regulation for all those subject to the regulation (Dworkin, 1986). Thus, although a particular solution might be more mathematically acceptable, it still does not address a particular behavior on its own terms, preferring instead a sort of political solution to adjudication, which indicates that judgment regarding the behavior itself does not matter. Because of this, the situation might be legal and/or ethical, but never possessed of integrity.

One interesting aspect of such a view of integrity is the fact that it tends to operate separately from notions of justice, such as that put forth by Rawls (1971). Rawls pushes for a Kantian view of justice as being the optimal state of affairs for individuals with all other things being equal; however, Rawls puts this forward in a way that is unique. He states that any regulation of behavior should be put forth in such a way that it maximizes liberty as much as possible, and in such a way that no aspect of other individuals is considered to be different to the person making a judgment about regulation, something he terms the veil of ignorance. The trouble with this view of justice is that integrity can quite easily mean that persons at different levels of social power would be treated differently if this treatment is consistent. Moreover, given the reality of an unequal spread of information in society, the assumption of a veil of ignorance is clearly violated (Powell, 2003).

Thus, integrity refers to the cohesive, coherent, and completeness of systems of rules for individuals, groups, and institutions. It is important to note that this affects both diachronic and synchronic senses, as it is well established that systems of rules are constantly developing and are subject to the changes to a moral and legal code which come with time and social change (Becker, 1963; Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009). Integrity involves morality but is not purely driven by hard morals; it requires that moral judgments be consistent with one another and that they be in line with the historical trajectory of such judgments. It is distinct from pure justice or morality in that it must take history and context into account. These ideas will form the basis of the further examinations of academic integrity.

Terminology issues

With the above as a definition for integrity, in this study academic integrity is a question of the state of integrity of rules of academic behavior for members of institutions of higher education. This includes not just judgments of guilt or innocence, but of cohesiveness, coherence, and completeness of rules, behaviors, judgments, and understandings of the actions of members regarding appropriate and inappropriate academic behavior. As such, it does not focus on any one element of the system, but rather how all parts fit together in a whole gestalt (Becker, 1963).

However, this definition does not take into account the issue described above in relation to the choice of terms. As mentioned above, an examination of existing research on academic integrity issues finds that other terms are much more frequently used in a definite sense to refer to issues of violations of academic integrity. By far, the most common of these is plagiarism, which is a very exclusive term used to refer to the unacknowledged and unpermitted usage of one person's work in another's (Davis, Drinan, & Bertram Gallant, 2009; McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012). This term is ubiquitous in research literature throughout many fields (Pennycook, 1996), though when it is used, there is almost always a pejorative connotation and a clear sense that plagiarism is always an act of cheating (Pennycook, 1996; Chandrasoma, Thompson, & Pennycook, 2004). Far less common is the term fraud, which is almost exclusively used in a legal sense to refer to actions in which deliberate deception has taken place with the goal of enriching oneself at another's expense (Fanelli, 2009). The first of these, plagiarism, is a widely used term, found everywhere from popular media to actual policies on campuses (Davis, Drinan, &

Bertram Gallant, 2009). The second, fraud, however, is reserved predominantly for the academic integrity violations of the professoriate, particularly in regards to grant funds and research misconduct (DeCoo, 2002). It is also used to discuss the practices of undergraduate students who have falsified test scores or application information in order to get a visa or obtain admission to a program or institution, though this is reserved almost entirely to legal analyses and the popular media (South China Morning Post, 2018; Stecklow, Dudley, Pomfret, & Harney, 2016). Few studies have tried to engage in an analysis of fraud, with the most authoritative source remaining the blog Retraction Watch (Grienensen & Zhang, 2012; Retraction Watch, 2018). Thus, while the above definition will guide an overall understanding of academic integrity, it is important to examine the specific ways in which academic integrity is discussed in existing literature on the topic.

DeCoo (2002), in his comprehensive volume on academic misconduct, mentions "misconduct, fraud, deceit, wrongdoing, impropriety" (p. 4), all as terms which refer to the breaching of academic ethical norms. He also describes how these terms all become more complicated when they are preceded by the terms *academic, research,* or *scientific* (p. 5). By referring to a phenomenon as "academic misconduct," there is a framing of the phenomenon as being the act and responsibility of an individual or group of individuals (Beale, 2003; DeCoo, 2002). This same phenomenon could be termed "academic impropriety" or possibly "research impropriety" and be thus dismissed as a simple mistake to be overlooked, something which becomes very salient considering the high volume of retractions in research journals as of late, and the framing of these retractions as being due not to

"plagiarism" or "fraud," but rather "impropriety" or "unintentional deceit" (Grieneisen & Zhang, 2012; Tourish & Craig, 2018).

After reviewing existing literature, the terms cheating, misconduct, and dishonesty are most closely linked with research specifically mentioning academic integrity (DeCoo, 2002; Macfarlane, Zhang, & Pun, 2015; Marques, Reis, & Gomes, 2019). However, in each case, notions of integrity and to whom each word pertains are shifted. The term cheating is by far the most assumption-laden of these three. In common usage, cheating is deemed to be an intentional violation of a code of ethics or conduct by an individual, typically for the purpose of some personal gain either material or immaterial (Perry, 2010). Indeed, this is what shows through in research which uses this term, which focuses on examining why students choose to break rules of academic behavior (Bertram Gallant & Drinan, 2006; DeCoo, 2002). Although sometimes used to refer to a group of individuals, such as recent instances in Pennsylvania and New York (South China Morning Post, 2018; Tyre, 2016), cheating is still most frequently used as a term applying to an individual and an intentional act (Lang, 2013). This thus means that the term cheating does not seem applicable for the description of the phenomenon in question here, since the presumption when using this term already indicates a whole scheme of judgment, agency, and intent.

Of considerable note here is the fact that the term "cheating" almost never refers to the behaviors of any group other than students, despite the fact that the exact same behavior is evidenced among faculty and administrators. As mentioned before, the copying of the same proposal or paper for multiple submissions is not uncommon among both students and faculty, yet it is only among students that this behavior is

called “cheating” (Grieneisen & Zhang, 2012). For example, Hodges et al (2017), in their study of self-plagiarism in conference paper submission, found that the most likely culprits for self-plagiarism were full professors at North American institutions of higher education. Notably, at the recent World Conference for Research Integrity, more than 30 papers were found to have been more than 37% “plagiarized” according to TurnItIn (Retraction Watch, 2019); Moreover, 18 of these papers were cases of self-plagiarism, and the organizers of the conference thus decided to allow the presentations to continue, albeit as poster presentations, because they felt that it was not entirely clear that self-plagiarism was not acceptable for the conference. Moreover, in two cases of plagiarism, the justification offered by presenters was that they had simply used their own previous work, which was thus considered an acceptable justification by conference organizers. As such, behavior which is decried in students is actually seen as justified in the case of academics (DeCoo, 2002).

Likewise, if an administrator knowingly accepts students who are less than qualified for studies, this is never termed cheating; at best, it is termed unethical, but not illegal, as illustrated in the case of *Xu Feng v Delaware* (2018). In this case, a student tried to sue the University of Delaware for breach of contract, stating that he had been promised assistance in learning English and that he would be given additional resources to help him succeed, but that in the end he was required to maintain 9 credits of graduate coursework and he was not provided any academic assistance. In this case, the court found no impropriety on the part of the school in enrolling a student who was not prepared for coursework and not providing any assistance, focusing instead on how the F-1 visa regulations had been upheld.

Misconduct is perhaps the most frequently used term in scholarly work to refer to academic integrity violation incidents involving either students, faculty, or both (DeCoo, 2002). As such, there is a rich literature available on it (Macfarlane, Zhang, & Pun, 2015). Similar to the term cheating, though, there is already an assumption of individual intention and action in the usage of the term misconduct, something borne out by the usage of misconduct in legal cases as well (Braxton et al, 2011). Research and legal cases using the term misconduct focus on the reasons why individuals have chosen to act against rules of academic behavior, never institutions, for which reason this term is not appropriate to describe the phenomenon either (Gajda, 2009). Most interestingly, the term misconduct is used equally for students and faculty in a legal sense in the US (Retraction Watch, 2018).

Finally, the term dishonesty, which is frequently used in codes of conduct (Lang, 2013; McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2001), shares many similar features with the two previous terms. Dishonesty presumes an intent from the beginning, and thus assigns blame before collecting facts (Beale, 2003). Furthermore, dishonesty is frequently used in codes of conduct to apply only to student actions; it is never used to refer to anyone other than individuals and is much more rarely used to refer to faculty (McGrail & McGrail, 2015). Thus, it only represents a very skewed view of academic integrity.

Rules of academic integrity

Rules governing academic integrity take several forms, the most notable of which in the context of US higher education is the honor code or code of conduct

(Bertram Gallant & Drinan, 2007; Lang, 2013; McGrail & McGrail, 2015). Most universities in the US have at least one code of conduct specifying academic behavior expectations and punishment for failing to meet these expectations (Davis, Drinan, & Bertram Gallant, 2009; DeCoo, 2002). The most common codes of conduct specify that failing to accurately attribute sources, outright plagiarism, and fabrication of information are all unacceptable and shall be punished (DeCoo, 2002; McGrail & McGrail, 2015). However, the specific type of code of conduct varies across institutions. At many institutions, the code of conduct applies to students only (Lang, 2013; McGrail & McGrail, 2015); at others, some aspects of the code apply to students and others to teaching staff (Macfarlane, Zhang, & Pun, 2014; McGrail & McGrail, 2015). At some institutions, the code of conduct is clearly meant to apply to all members of the academic community, including non-students and non-teaching staff (Bertram Gallant & Drinan, 2006; Gajda, 2009). To complicate this yet further, individual disciplines, departments, and professional societies have their own codes of conduct, both for students (*Behne v. Union County College*, 2018; McGrail & McGrail, 2015) and for faculty or other researchers (Bertram Gallant & Drinan, 2007). As such, a student in a given department might be subject to university-wide, departmental, disciplinary, and professional codes of conduct (Braxton et al, 2011; Davis, Drinan, & Bertram Gallant, 2009). This is not to mention the fact that a faculty member in this same department might be subject to these same codes of conduct, but also, possibly not subject to them, and if so, in different manners, possibly even as an arbiter rather than a subject (de Jager & Brown, 2010). As an arbiter, individual faculty members can have their own standards as well, leading to yet another layer. In

addition, there are also specific rules established by the National Science Foundation and Office of Research Integrity regarding how research under Federal grants is to be conducted (DeCoo, 2002). These rules specify certain types of violations, stating the following:

> misconduct or misconduct in science means fabrication, falsification, plagiarism, or other practices that seriously deviate from those that are commonly accepted within the scientific community for proposing, conducting, or reporting research. It does not include honest error or honest differences in interpretations or judgments of data (DeCoo, 2002, p. 5).

These rules govern all activity connected to a federal grant; as such, they can contradict an institutional code of conduct, something which has led to several cases in which a researcher is found to have violated school regulations, but not federal government regulations, or occasionally the reverse (Downes, 2017). Recently, a former professor at Dartmouth was found by the university to have violated university rules regarding plagiarism, while the US Office of Research Integrity, responsible for overseeing his grant, found that no plagiarism had taken place under federal regulations (Dyer, 2018). The former Dartmouth professor was removed from his position by the university owing to his violation of the university code of conduct, yet he continues to protest that he should be judged by the federal rules rather than university standards.

Another field of regulations relates to publishing in academic journals, which is of great concern to faculty since many universities have yearly quotas for number of publications and overall impact (Fanelli, 2009; Fang et al, 2012) and because

promotion, tenure, and salary increase decisions are often influenced by a faculty member's publication record (Braxton, Proper, & Bayer, 2011). Each venue for publication can have its own set of standards for what can and cannot be submitted and/or published, with a huge amount of variation regarding what behaviors are considered acceptable (Faria, 2015). For example, several journals in the hard sciences have taken the view that self-plagiarism, wherein a person recycles content from another paper, is acceptable if it allows a concept to be more easily understood (Grieneisen & Zhang, 2016), while others have taken the approach that self-plagiarism must be limited to a certain percentage of another work (Hu & Lei, 2016), and others have taken a hard stand, stating that no self-plagiarism is acceptable (Wager et al, 2008).

Taken together, the above suggests that a student might have to operate under multiple codes of conduct, while being judged by faculty who likewise are informed by and frequently have to operate under multiple codes of conduct, any of which might conflict with any other, with potential consequences up to removal from one's job or expulsion from one's school (Dyer, 2018; *Xu Feng v. Delaware*, 2018). Interestingly, the position of administrators here seems to be one of pure judgment, in that administrators very frequently create the regulations and penalties levied against students and faculty, as well as adjudicate the same, while not being subject to such strict regulations themselves (Bertram Gallant & Drinan, 2007). As an example of this, the American Association of University Administrators, the American Association of University Professors, and the Comparative and International Education Societies do not have punitive policies regarding academic integrity for

their members, who include administrators and professors (AAUA, 2017; AAUP 2019; CIES 2019). Perhaps most surprisingly given its status as the referent for references, the American Psychological Association has only two main punitive strategies for its members – expulsion from the organization and reprimand by the organization, neither of which entails any further punitive measure, and neither of which is required to be considered for a grant application or continued funding of a project (APA, 2019). As such, while an immediate punitive consequence is possible for students regarding codes of conduct, the same cannot be said for faculty and administrators (Bertram Gallant & Drinan, 2006; Stapel, 2014).

These codes of conduct, specific though they can be, all leave room for interpretation and application of unwritten standards as well. As the federal standards mentioned above state, there is assumed to be a common set of practices within a scientific community against which a particular case can be judged. This points to the next sets of rules governing academic behavior, which are those of particular communities, councils, and individuals. These rules are far less documented, and as such, they can be quite difficult to both identify and analyze. Several studies have documented reported attitudes towards certain types of academic behavior, finding that people of different ages, genders, national origins, cultural backgrounds, job types, majors, and degrees of religiosity tend to view similar phenomena in different ways (Ma, McCabe, & Liu, 2013; Miller et al, 2006; Yu et al, 2016). For example, while self-reported females tended to view providing answers to a test to friends to be unethical behavior worthy of report to authorities, self-reported males tended to view the same behavior as normal and not worthy of report (Miller et al, 2006). It is

important to note here that the majority of studies have not sought to examine this in further detail, specifically in regards to when answers are provided (i.e. before, during, or after the test); however, studies from social psychology dating back to the time of Bowers suggest that the tendency to provide information before and after an incident is greater for all participants than for during a given act (Cialdini, 2007; Mazar, Amir, & Ariely, 2008). Beyond this, professors tend to view missing attributions in papers as being a deliberate and punishable behavior, while students tend to view this same phenomenon as unimportant (Ehrich et al, 2016).

As an example of this variation, business majors have been noted as engaging in behaviors that are more contrary to academic integrity than most other majors, particularly plagiarism and test cheating (Cronan, Mullins, & Douglas, 2018; McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2001/2012). Note, however, that this is something which is not perceived by business department administrators, who typically think that there are few academic integrity violations in their departments (Bertram Gallant & Drinan, 2007). This is a surprisingly constant finding, going back to Bowers' original 1964 study (McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012). Interestingly, business department faculty do see many academic integrity violations, but more than 40% of business department faculty report that they do not report these violations as they feel that their department administrators do not care or do not support faculty in their efforts to promote academic integrity (Coren, 2011).

Although these sorts of attitudinal differences have been noted, a full picture of the unwritten rules governing academic behavior for particular groups does not yet exist. Instead, responses to given situations are evaluated based on identifying

characteristics, meaning that each datum is artificially assigned to a group, rather than being examined by the supposed type of "community of practice" identified in the rules for US Federal Grants (DeCoo, 2002). In other words, for most existing research using surveys and questionnaires and a general regression model, groups are identified based on items such as race, expressed gender, or perhaps most frequently, presence of an honor code, rather than on actual groups of practice (McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012).

Moreover, there is a particular issue here in the interaction between written codes of conduct and the decisions of individuals when determining what is acceptable academic behavior. Many codes of conduct specify that whatever a faculty member judges to be unacceptable is unacceptable whether or not this has been clearly stated (*Behne v. Union County College*, 2018; McGrail & McGrail, 2015; Pavela, 1997). Although surprising on the outside, such lassitude can be considered necessary to deal with the variety of behaviors which might be considered in violation of academic integrity in different disciplines (ICAI, 2014); still, this means that the faculty member ends up being the ultimate arbiter of what constitutes a violation, with no recourse for students except during the investigative and punitive phases of a disciplinary action (Lang, 2013; Pavela, 1997). As such, there is considerable room for variation in how even a well-documented code of conduct is applied in given situations by communities, groups, and individuals.

The application of rules of academic integrity

As indicated above, it is necessary to tease out how the formalized sets of regulations of academic integrity apply to specific groups or in specific contexts. As

Bertram Gallant (2008) indicated in her work on the historical and organizational aspects of academic integrity, there has been a tendency to focus exclusively on students, despite the clarity of multiple levels of responsibility and participation in academic integrity. Furthermore, as Sarah Elaine Eaton (2020) has clarified, we can characterize levels of responsibility for academic integrity in the 4M framework, wherein the micro, meso, macro, and mega levels are considered. Inside this system, it is necessary to consider individual motivations, departmental motivations, organizational motivations, and community or social motivations. As such, it is clear that research into academic integrity must take good care to examine constituent groups, social relations, and power in any analysis. In this section, I will examine these systems for each of the constituent groups described in the previous section. In this context, the sets of regulations fall into two broad categories: institutional and cultural.

Institutional versus cultural rules

As several researchers have noted (Davis et al, 2017; Powell, 2003; Shu, Gino, & Bazerman, 2011), there is a difference between what stated rules imply and what behavior indicates. In regards to academic integrity, this largely takes the form of institutional versus cultural rules of conduct. Institutional rules of conduct are those which have been mentioned previously as being codified and written down, the rules which are considered "official" for a given place and situation (Davis, Drinan, & Bertram Gallant, 2009). In contrast to these are cultural rules, which are often not written, but which are nonetheless implied and shared in particular cultural groups, and which can have a huge influence on how behavior is understood and shaped

(Powell, 2003). Here, culture is taken in an institutional sense, but it also applies in a larger cultural sense, something which Pennycook (1996) made very clear in his work on the notion of plagiarism. This is to say that cultures at the largest level, such as nations, will interact with institutions in their values and understandings of academic integrity. For the purposes of this section, though, I will confine myself to the written and unwritten rules of IHEs in the US. The interplay of these two sets of rules among various groups, and the variations in understandings and interpretations of both sets of rules, allow for multiple configurations of what is and is not considered to be a violation of academic integrity, as will be examined below for the three main stakeholders identified above.

Students

What is most notable about students concerning academic integrity is that they are almost exclusively in a respondent or defendant role (Bertram Gallant, 2008; Lang, 2013). Though many student conduct boards include students to help as arbiters of policy alongside faculty and administrators (Pavela, 1997), the policy of academic integrity itself is typically established with little or no student input or consultation (ICAI, 2017). Thus, in an institutional sense, students are as a rule exclusively the respondents to claims of impropriety, rather than constructors of policy or determiners of how policy is to be applied (Colnerud & Rosander, 2009).

However, this changes at the cultural level. Here, students exercise a large amount of control of definitions of academic integrity and acceptability. Using the example of social media from above, a typical case emerges: a student asks his or her

groupmates for the answers to a quiz. When asked why he or she needs the answers, the student replies that owing to a family emergency, it was impossible to study. At this juncture, other students in the group can decide whether this is a good enough excuse to justify violating standards of academic integrity, both official rules and social norms, based on higher morality. In fact, there is evidence to suggest that students do use such judgment when deciding whether or not to assist others in their work (Colnerud & Rosander, 2009), meaning that in the cultural realm, students are able to exercise judgment in meaningful ways which impact behavior that is supposedly governed by academic integrity policy (Bertram Gallant & Drinan, 2006; Ma, McCabe, & Liu, 2013).

Faculty

Faculty are held to high standards of academic integrity not only through institutional and departmental policies, but also through policies of grant agencies, professional organizations, and publishing entities, as mentioned before (DeCoo, 2002). Beyond this, they are also held accountable as the main arbiters of student academic integrity violations, since they are responsible for monitoring and reporting these same in almost every case (ICAI, 2017). These constitute the institutional rules under which faculty must act, suggesting that while being subject to rules, faculty must also determine how students should be judged by these rules as well, something which provides for the possibility of large cognitive dissonance (Adhikari, 2018).

One way that such cognitive dissonance is alleviated is through cultural rules regarding academic integrity. In much the same way that faculty can be gentle or

harsh on one another in peer review of articles, they can also choose whether or not to be vigilant about or report a student for an academic integrity violation, something which 40% of US business faculty choose not to do (Coren, 2011). To date, few studies have examined this, though of the ones that have, it has emerged that student nationality, race, and gender play a role in whether or not to report a violation (Fass-Holmes, 2017; Heckler & Forde, 2015; Thomas, 2017). It is important to note here that very few large-scale studies have sought to examine this in any detail, though, with the great majority of studies seeking to address reporting behaviors being social psychology studies under lab conditions which limit the number of variables that can be examined (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002; Hughes & Zaki, 2015). Nevertheless, although there are relatively clear institutional-level rules, it appears that the cultural level exerts a strong influence.

Administrators

Administrators operate primarily in the institutional realm of rules regarding academic integrity, serving as not only the main persons who develop policies regarding academic integrity, but also those who are directly – individually or in conjunction with others – involved in adjudicating reported violations (Bertram Gallant & Drinan, 2007). This creates a difficulty in that the institutional rules and practices may actually reflect the cultural views of administrators; interestingly, though, administrators are rarely studied for their commission of AIVs, except in cases where credentials have been falsified or admissions decisions have been made based on biased criteria (Benner, 2018; Ryan, Steffenson, & Janeiro, 2017). However, even in these cases, the focus is almost exclusively on institutional rules and how they

are applied. Thus, in the case of the recent Harvard controversy involving the limiting of Asian admissions (Benner, 2018), the question was not "what are the individual factors leading admissions officers to deny admission to Asian students," but rather "what institutional issues are present in the admissions process at Harvard?" This is the exact opposite of the discussions which take place surrounding student actions (McKibban & Burdsal, 2013).

Since only one study in recent times has sought to engage administrators about academic integrity (Bertram Gallant & Drinan, 2007), it is difficult to examine the cultural level of rules among administrators. However, there are ample opportunities for cultural rules to be applied in the work of administrators. Several articles have recently suggested that cultural rules are applied particularly in making admissions decisions, setting admissions requirements, and using agents to recruit students from abroad (Beasley, 2014; Benner, 2018; Redden, 2015; Stecklow et al, 2016). Interestingly, in Bertram Gallant and Drinan's (2007) study, there was a clear disconnect by administrators at the undergraduate level with notions of academic integrity, with multiple respondents reporting that they did not feel any need to examine or engage with academic integrity, and with no respondent reporting any sense of academic integrity applying to them as well. As such, perhaps the greatest cultural issue among administrators would be the idea that academic integrity is a concept that is not relevant to them, but rather only to students and faculty.

Key considerations in differing application of rules of academic integrity

As the above shows, multiple sets of standards are applied differently by, as well as to, different members of the academic community. One interesting aspect of

this is the fact that no literature currently exists regarding whether or not it is appropriate to have one code of conduct for all members of the academic community, despite how some have tried to establish consistency across codes (Bertram Gallant, 2008; COPE, 2018; DeCoo, 2002; ICAI, 2014, 2017). With this said, there is some support for differentiated sets of standards of academic integrity for different members of the academic community, particularly taking into account who performs the behavior, when, where, and for what purpose (Carney & Thurman, 2018). An elaboration of the previous example of self-plagiarism will demonstrate how recent research has characterized the same actions very differently for different groups, examining some of the reasoning behind this.

Self-plagiarism is usually characterized by codes of conduct as a clear violation of academic integrity (McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012; McGrail & McGrail, 2015). However, this is only in relation to student actions, which are characterized as being unacceptable and in need of remediation (Pavela, 1997; Pennycook, 1996). The focus on submitting the same work for more than one assignment as being deceitful and evidence of an attempt to evade the responsibilities of a student is an example of how a sort of hard moral evaluation of student activities is embedded into codes of conduct. However, as Pennycook (1996) notes, this actually does not take into account the process of learning how to become a member of a speech community, which requires acclimation to the standards and practices of a particular social group or culture, and which likewise requires the establishment of a stock set of rhetorical and linguistic turns which are deemed appropriate for discourse in a given environment. Chandrasoma, Thompson, and Pennycook (2004) note how

reuse of certain phrases and stock expressions is key to establishing a voice in writing in a second or foreign language, something which a one-size-fits-all approach to self-plagiarism does not account for.

Beyond this, there is the issue of how self-plagiarism is constructed for professors and scholars. Citron & Ginsparg (2015), in fact, point to a certain baseline of "acceptable" self-plagiarism in scientific writing, choosing to refer to this as "text recycling" (p.25). This particularly refers to the reuse of methods or literature review sections of papers which stem from the same source, which should not have to be referenced for all published or presented forms. The idea here is that the academic work of a professor requires constant publishing and presenting to the academic community, and that for all work to be completely original would be nearly unthinkable given publishing demands (Ioannidis et al., 2018). Indeed, some journals have made it clear that certain amounts of text recycling are acceptable for publication (Horbach & Halffman, 2017).

Thus, it is clear that the concept of self-plagiarism is not fixed and defined, but rather dependent on multiple other factors which may contribute to either an acceptable or unacceptable judgment of a given action. To take the ICAI (2014) definition of self-plagiarism as being binding for the overall academic community would mean ignoring the specific contextual and situational factors which guide evaluation of an action as either violating or acting in concert with academic integrity. While codes of conduct treat student actions of self-plagiarism as clear violations of academic integrity, the exact same actions by faculty are generally treated as being acceptable (Carney & Thurman, 2018).

To sum up, the question remains whether or not it is acceptable to hold different members of the academic community to different standards. To this, the existing literature seems to suggest that if who performs the behavior, when, where, and for what purpose are all considered, there may well be a case to make for the differentiation of standards (Bretag et al., 2014; Horbach & Halffman, 2017). Taking the case of undergraduates, it is clear that a great number of assignments are given in order to assess knowledge of newly learned content (Lang, 2013), something which makes self-plagiarism problematic as it directly goes against showing anything new. However, in the case of professors, no work is considered simply a verification of knowledge, but rather everything is considered a contribution to the field which should be shared widely (Citron & Ginsparg, 2015). As such, reusing one's own work, if not done with an intent to deceive or to simply add a line to one's CV, may be acceptable in certain situations (Horbach & Halffman, 2017).

Expanding this to the larger cultural level, there is ever present the issue of whether or not AI rules are considered to be universal. Clearly, even in the same institution, there are differentiated understandings of AI based on one's status and place in the academy. This becomes particularly problematic when certain values are cast as being universal, such as is the case in the ICAI's (2019) statement of values for academic integrity. When considering situations in which multiple cultures at the largest level are in interaction with one another, such differential processes of rule application beg the question of whether or not universal values in AI are accurate, appropriate, or desirable.

A looming gap: Lack of research on international students

Analysis of academic integrity at US IHEs, as well as around the world, has taken place continuously since 1964, following Bowers' landmark study of academic integrity violations at US IHEs (DeCoo, 2002; McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012). However, studies specifically focusing on international students have a far shorter history (MacFarlane, Zhang, & Pun, 2014). Whether focused on international or domestic students, though, the great majority of studies have examined exclusively how students engage in practices already defined as being academic integrity violations (AIVs), rather than on a general perspective on what academic integrity means to students, faculty, and administrators (Bertram Gallant, Binkin & Donohue, 2015; Davis, Drinan, & Bertram Gallant, 2009; Martin, Rao, & Sloan, 2011; McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012).

Most notably, the great majority of such research has relied on surveys and questionnaires in which students are asked to voluntarily report how frequently they have engaged in behaviors deemed to be problematic, as well as how problematically they themselves see such behaviors (MacFarlane, Zhang, & Pun, 2014). Surprisingly, most studies of international students in the US, and indeed of student practices around the world, have relied on Bowers' original set of 13 behaviors deemed to be academic integrity violations as the basis for interviews, panels, questionnaires, and surveys (Fass-Holmes, 2017; McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012; Teixeira & Rocha, 2010). As such, instead of attempting to create a picture of academic integrity based on perspectives from all those involved in higher education globally, what current research reveals is largely how closely the declared practices and reported

understandings of students around the world adhere to the standards of conduct established by one researcher in the US in 1964 (Pecorari & Petric, 2014; Teixeira & Rocha, 2010).

Clearly, such an approach is problematic due to its monotonic nature, yet it is only in recent years that there has been an effort to expand perspectives on the meanings of academic integrity, particularly in internationalized situations such as those present in IHEs in the US and the rest of the world (McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012). Over the last 40 years, universities throughout the world have sought to increase their populations of international students, particularly in the US (Fass-Holmes, 2017). International student enrollment in the US has increased to more than one million students during this time period, the majority of whom are enrolled as undergraduates at IHEs on the eastern seaboard (IIE, 2017; SEVIS, 2018). With this increase in international student enrollment, a large volume of media attention and scholarship has been devoted to the practices of international students at US IHEs (Redden, 2015; Jordan & Belkin, 2016; Tyre, 2016). Of this, the great majority has taken a deficit perspective, focusing on how international students lack the needed skills or cultural awareness to participate effectively in US higher education (Chandrasoma, Thompson, & Pennycook, 2004).

A great many studies have focused on how best to train or educate international students to be good participants in US IHEs, particularly in the field of English as a Second or Foreign Language (Adhikari, 2018; Chandrasoma, Thompson, & Pennycook, 2004). In all of this, there have been particular themes which are repeated: international students are unaware of academic integrity (Pennycook, 1996);

certain national cultures value academic integrity less or more than others (Teixeira & Rocha, 2010); individuals from certain national cultures will be more or less likely than others to plagiarize (Bista, 2011); and students from national cultures other than the US will always need training in academic integrity, although even after receiving this, they will still be more likely to cheat or otherwise engage in academically dishonest practices, and thus must be watched intently (Bertram Gallant, Binkin, & Donohue, 2015; Martin, Rao, & Sloan, 2011).

Although many such studies come from a place of good intentions, such a perspective ultimately portrays international students generally as unworthy of trust and worthy of suspicion. When studies state things such as the following – Chinese students are more likely to plagiarize (Jordan & Belkin, 2016), Vietnamese students do not understand that plagiarism is wrong (Tran, Huynh, & Nguyen, 2018), Ukranian and Armenian students have to cheat to get ahead because their cultures are so corrupt (Madyarov et al, 2016; Yukhymenko-Lescroart, 2014), and international students are always more likely to cheat than Americans (Adhikari, 2018), they present a oversimplified perspective on what academic integrity really is and how it is enacted. The reason for this is that international students are always presented as objects of error analysis, particularly in regards to violation of given rules, rather than as participants in a given system of rules in which a multitude of actors make decisions or are conditioned to act in certain ways based on their backgrounds or circumstances (Bertram Gallant, Binkin, & Donohue, 2015; Chandrasoma, Thompson, & Pennycook, 2004). Thus, the main issue here is not necessarily the information presented, but how it is both collected and presented. Indeed, apart from

Isbell, Chaudhuri & Schaeffer's (2018) and Bista's (2011) studies, virtually no study has even sought to elucidate the experiences and thoughts of international students regarding issues of academic integrity, choosing instead to examine students' Likert scale evaluations of statements taken largely from Bowers' original framework, something which has been acknowledged as a methodological problem repeatedly in research into AIVs (McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012; Miller et al, 2006). As such, from the outset, international students are being judged based not on their own understandings, but on those of others, and always with a deficit perspective in mind, with the idea that they are lacking and need to learn how to act appropriately in an academic situation (Flores & Rosa, 2015). This echoes the so-called "no-problem problem" present in feminist and minority studies, wherein the responsibility for AIVs is presented as being simply a failing of international students, and thus beneath analysis, rather than an aspect of a system that specifically disadvantages a specific population (Rhode, 1991).

In fact, the same studies cited before also show that perceptions of whether or not a given action constitutes an AIV are very similar across cultures and countries (Martin, Rao, & Sloan, 2011; McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012; Teixeira & Rocha, 2010). What differs is the degree to which certain behaviors are seen as acceptable or not in either the abstract or given certain conditions (Miron, Branscombe, & Biernat, 2010; Nosek, Banaji, & Greenwald, 2002). When presented in the abstract, it is true that the majority of studies have shown that US students report that behaviors established as AIVs are unacceptable more frequently than international students attending US institutions (Teixeira & Rocha, 2010). However,

as soon as mitigating conditions, such as length of time in a given location or measured acculturation are included, the differences between US and international students largely disappear (Martin, Rao, & Sloan, 2011; Mazar, Amir, & Ariely, 2008). What this means is that decontextualized or generic judgments of AIVs are certainly more definitive in the US, but that actual behaviors and judgments of behaviors are not very different among students throughout the world (Martin, Rao, & Sloan, 2011; Teixeira & Rocha, 2010).

However, the fact remains that the great majority of research on AIVs tends to evaluate international students in the US and students in other countries based on one version of US concepts of academic integrity, specifically those related to student behaviors, but not to punishments, frequency of engagement in AIVs, and how students themselves conceive of academic integrity (MacFarlane, Zhang, & Pun, 2014; McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012). Because of this, it is difficult to answer questions about how international students in the US conceive of academic integrity, how such conceptions may differ from US students' conceptions of academic integrity, how frequently international students engage in AIVs compared to US students, what types of AIVs international and US students engage in, how frequently international and US students are found to have engaged in such behaviors, how often international and US students have been formally adjudicated for certain behaviors, and what consequences they have faced for their behaviors. With this said, in the rest of this chapter, I will endeavor to answer these questions as best I can, using existing research. I will begin by interrogating the popular perception that international students at US IHEs are more likely to engage in AIVs, noting the issues of framing

and the learning processes of both language and academic writing and how they are overlooked in this perception.

The perception problem: International students and AIVs

In recent years, there have been multiple stories presented in popular media about how international students, particularly students from China, are far more likely to cheat than local students in the English-speaking world (Bertram Gallant, Binkin, & Donohue, 2015; South China Morning Post, 2018; Tyre, 2016). Notably, in the US, recent reporting on incidents which have taken place in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and California has focused on "sophisticated cheating schemes imported from abroad" (Tyre, 2016), portraying international students as being engaged in sustained and intentional violations of academic integrity (South China Morning Post, 2018; Tyre, 2016). The incidents most frequently mentioned in media reports are those which involve high-stakes university admissions tests such as the SAT and GRE, which purport to measure likelihood of success in undergraduate and graduate school (Selingo, 2021), and the TOEFL exam of English proficiency (Fass-Holmes, 2017; Jordan & Belkin, 2016; Tyre, 2016), all of which tend to be required for entrance into US IHEs at either the graduate or undergraduate level (SEVIS, 2017). Indeed, in the incidents mentioned above, journalists noted how "rings" of students worked to intentionally cheat on the TOEFL and GRE in order to fraudulently gain admission to desirable US IHEs, often by finding look-alike students with greater English proficiency to take the tests for them (South China Morning Post, 2018; Tyre, 2016). In some cases, students have been prosecuted for fraud at the federal level by the US

government, since their student visas were obtained under false pretenses (Tyre, 2016). One recent case is that of Huang Leyi, a Chinese national who admitted to paying someone else to take the TOEFL exam for her so that she might attend an IHE in Pennsylvania, something which took place as part of a larger scheme to provide "ringers" who would take tests on behalf of Chinese and Indian students in the mid-Atlantic region of the US in order to help gain admission to desirable IHEs (South China Morning Post, 2018). Rather than suffer through a federal prosecution for fraud, Huang took a plea bargain and was deported back to China. Others have received fines and jail terms for their part in such activities, though the full extent to which this has happened is not clear (Jordan & Belkin, 2016; Tyre, 2016).

This has led to a popular perception among faculty and administrators that international students, particularly students from China, must be treated as suspect and likely to engage in all types of AIVs (Martin, Rao, & Sloan, 2011; McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012; Redden, 2019), with one popular education columnist even calling the admissions process for Chinese students "broken," and stating that "admissions officers all know that Chinese information is fake, but no one wants to deal with it" (Redden, 2015). Indeed, as Chandrasoma, Thompson, and Pennycook (2004) have noted, there is a persistent casting of Asian students at US IHEs as being incapable of writing or producing individual work without stealing or copying from others. Pennycook (1996), in a landmark article, examined US IHE faculty opinions and reactions to supposed instances of AIVs by international students and noted how there was a consistent desire to punish students for perceived transgressions, as well as a pervasive notion that given a chance, all international students will cheat. In the

few studies which have examined international student perspectives on academic integrity, international students have expressed feelings of persecution by faculty and perceptions of a lack of faculty's willingness to engage with them to explain or inculcate ideas of academic integrity, particularly in regards to writing and citation standards (Bretag et al, 2014; Ehrich, Howard, Mu & Bokosmaty, 2015; Isbell, Chaudhuri, & Shaeffer, 2018; Martin, Rao, & Sloan, 2011). International students report feeling that they are often treated as guilty of offenses that have not been explained to them, even though no offense has taken place in many situations (Isbell, Chaudhuri, & Shaeffer, 2018).

Blaming the learner for learning

The main trouble with the aforementioned perspective on international students is that it assigns blame before even bothering to analyze the situation. Pennycook (1996) was among the first to point out how damaging the guilt-first perspective is to the learning process of international students. He was also among the first to note how such a perspective plays into a common psychological bias against persons perceived to be outsiders. Focusing particularly on the idea of plagiarism in a foreign language, Pennycook outlined how important mimicry and copying are in the processes of both learning a language and learning academic writing. In regards to language, Pennycook notes that we are obliged to copy and mimic in order to perform in ways judged as acceptable, with a great deal of prejudice applied to persons who are unable to follow proper pronunciation, lexis, and grammar. Beyond this, he noted that without a form or content to follow, we are forced to invent our own forms and

processes, something which is less than feasible in a rule-governed activity like writing. As such, he argued, faculty should not be focusing on preventing international students from copying and mimicking, but instead should be focusing on what parts of the language and writings of others can be incorporated or adapted for their own usage, as well as what steps are expected to be taken when doing so, such as citing sources, using quotation marks, or inserting footnotes.

This was exactly what Chandrasoma, Thompson, and Pennycook (2004) sought to examine in their work on intertextuality and language learning, choosing to use the terms transgressive and non-transgressive intertextuality, with only the former describing what is commonly termed plagiarism. Intertextuality is taken here to mean the sharing of a given feature, set of features, or amount of content of two or more separate texts. Transgressive intertextuality is a form of intertextuality which breaches established norms and is done with the intent to deceive, while non-transgressive intertextuality is a type of intertextuality which is acceptable and not done with any intent to deceive. Under this framework, student practices of mimicry and copying are classified according to how they are used by students in a given situation, while taking into account the rules of that situation, something much more akin to the idea of academic integrity advanced in the previous chapter of this dissertation.

To take an example, the idea of patchwriting, or taking a sentence or paragraph and changing various content words to express a new idea, can be very effectively used as both a pedagogical technique and a practice for students not familiar with the rules of academic writing in English (Davis, Drinan, & Bertram

Gallant, 2009; Pecorari & Petric, 2014; Pennycook, 1996). By examining the structure of the grammar, rhetoric, and cohesion of a given piece of text, then adapting it in a way that allows it to match a new purpose, students are able to internalize both rhetorical and linguistic structures that serve them well in other areas (Adhikari, 2018; Isbell, Chaudhuri, & Shaeffer, 2018). Indeed, this is exactly how "native speakers" learn how to write academically, though the process begins at a stage of life when plagiarism does not exist as a concern (Lang, 2013; Pennycook, 1996). If a student or faculty member uses patchwriting in a way that supports learning and progress towards being either a more fluent English speaker or writer, this would fall under the heading of non-transgressive intertextuality (Chandrasoma, Thompson, & Pennycook, 2004). In this sense, although there has been a copying or mimicking of text produced by oneself or someone else, it is not done with the intent to deceive or mislead, but rather to learn and grow.

However, it has been well established that many faculty consider such a practice to be a form of AIV, with many calling it a form of plagiarism (Bretag et al, 2014; Chen & Ku, 2008; Davis, Drinan, & Bertram Gallant, 2009). In this case, a question arises as to whether or not patchwriting should be considered an AIV. As Pennycook (1996) noted, when taking the guilt-first perspective that international students will always cheat, practices which aim to support learning, including patchwriting, are cast as being just more ways that international students are committing AIVs. Indeed, as Bretag et al. (2014) observed, since many IHEs fail to clearly teach or specify what is considered acceptable intertextuality, it is largely left up to student to consider – and for the faculty to determine – what should be labeled

and punished as an AIV, something which McGrail and McGrail (2015) and Bayer (2004) also note in their more general analyses of IHE academic integrity policies. Based on this, a faculty member's perception of international students as being likely to cheat and engage in unethical behavior can easily lead her/him to view a practice such as patchwriting being an AIV rather than an attempt to engage with and internalize the structures of English or the rules of academic writing (Chandrasoma, Thompson, & Pennycook, 2004).

Thus, it is entirely possible that students wishing to improve their English capability and academic writing ability would try to emulate a piece of writing that their writing instructor has signaled as being particularly useful or representative of academic writing, but after emulating said writing, the same students may be judged to be guilty of an AIV, with little or no justification for said infraction other than the hearsay of an instructor (Bayer, 2004; McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012; McGrail & McGrail, 2015). This points to either a lack of awareness or a bias on the part of faculty and administrators of international students' processes of learning both language and writing standards through their studies at US IHEs, a lack of awareness or bias which can have severe consequences for international students.

Perception and framing of academic integrity vis-a-vis international students

As is well noted in studies on AIVs, perception drives judgment, something which has contributed to a disproportionate representation of international students being perceived as and accused of engaging in AIVs in the US (Beasley, 2016; Bertram Gallant, Binkin, & Donohue, 2015; Fass-Holmes, 2017). The ways in which perceptions shape judgments of ethics and morality have been well studied by social

psychologists, who refer to this process as framing (Bastardi, Uhlmann, & Ross, 2011; Miron, Branscombe, & Biernat, 2010; Molden & Higgins, 2012). This process, which has been studied at length in countries around the world, shows that behavior is evaluated differently according to a number of factors, rather than just whether or not a particular action aligns with one's moral code (Mazar, Amir, & Ariely, 2008). Among these are how similar or different we perceive the actor in a given situation to be, particularly in terms of overall appearance or membership in a given cultural group (Bastardi, Uhlmann, & Ross, 2011), how close we feel to the actor in a given situation (Molden & Higgins, 2012), how much of a pre-existing bias we have towards the group(s) we perceive the actor to belong to (Bastardi, Uhlmann, & Ross, 2011; Mazar, Amir, & Ariely, 2008), and whether or not the behavior in question was performed by someone else or ourselves (Mazar, Amir, & Ariely, 2008).

Thus, when it comes to assessing international student behaviors as being AIVs, there is a great degree of variability among faculty depending on their framing of situations. Several studies have reported that faculty routinely do not report certain AIVs by certain students (Barrett & Cox, 2005; Bertram Gallant, Binkin, & Donohue, 2015; Coren, 2011). Coren (2011) reported that 40% of faculty routinely do not report AIVs from students when they consider an AIV to be trivial or when they feel that the student would likely become emotional in front of them. Furthermore, Barrett & Cox (2005) reported that although faculty are very clear in their disapproval of plagiarism, they are inconsistent in their evaluations of collaboration and collusion on assignments, arguing that as long as students are learning, some AIVs are acceptable. Finally, Bertram Gallant, Binkin, and Donohue (2015) note that faculty in different

departments at IHEs routinely treat the same behaviors very differently, with some actively encouraging activities that others actively punish, including patchwriting.

To date, no study has compared judgments of AIVs between instructors who have contact with mostly international students and instructors who have contact mostly with local students or a mix of local and international students. This is noteworthy because studies of ESL/EFL instructors at US IHEs report that instructors routinely do not report students for AIVs or they perceive AIVs merely as a step in acquiring English or academic writing skills, akin to what Pennycook (1996) noted in his work (Correa, 2011).

Comparing this to the reality that international students are far more likely to be reported for AIVs than local students (Beasley, 2016; Fass-Holmes, 2017), there is a clear need to establish just how international student AIVs are framed. In the following two sections, I will examine the most common framework for defining AIVs and the ways in which international students in the US are accused and punished for engaging in AIVs.

The Bowers Framework

As noted above, the great majority of research into AIVs relies on a typology of behaviors established by Bowers in 1964 (McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012). Bowers first used this in his doctoral research on the prevalence of academically dishonest behavior among university students at a number of IHEs in the US, subsequently using it for a countrywide survey of practices among university students in the US (Davis, Drinan, & Bertram Gallant, 2009). This typology is listed below:

1. Copying a few sentences of material without footnoting in a paper
2. Getting questions or answers from someone who has already taken the same exam
3. Copying answers from a text or other source instead of doing the work independently
4. "Padding" a few items on a bibliography
5. Giving answers to other students during an exam
6. Copying from someone's test or exam paper without his knowing about it
7. Working on the same homework with several other students when the teacher does not allow it
8. Copying from someone's test or exam paper with that person's knowledge
9. Writing a paper for another student
10. Arranging to sit next to someone who will let you copy from him during a test or exam
11. Arranging with other students to give or receive answers by use of signals
12. Taking an exam for another student
13. Having another student take an exam for you
(Bowers, 1964, p. 268)

These thirteen behaviors have been included in virtually every large study of AIVs since 1964 (Bertram Gallant, Binkin, & Donohue, 2015; Davis, Drinan, & Bertram Gallant, 2009; Macfarlane, Zhang, & Pun, 2015; McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012). Furthermore, these behaviors have formed the basis for most large-scale surveys and questionnaires used in studies of reported AIVs in other countries (Macfarlane, Zhang, & Pun, 2015; Teixeira & Rocha, 2010), not to mention the set of best practices and analyses of university integrity maintained by the International Center for Academic Integrity (ICAI, 2017). Because of this, the framing of AIVs in research largely is determined by this typology. Of great note here is the fact that there are three main items addressed by this typology: academic writing conventions, exam conventions, and homework. In particular, of the 13 items listed, eight directly relate to exam conventions, four directly relate to academic writing, and one relates to homework (#7). Indeed, in their survey of large analyses of AIVs at IHEs worldwide, Davis, Drinan, and Bertram Gallant (2009) actually refer to

"cheating behaviors" as consisting solely of "exam cheating, plagiarism, and homework copying" (p. 45).

To date, there has been no analysis of what studies have been conducted based on the Bowers framework, particularly studies of international students. However, in reviewing the literature, the following international comparative studies and studies of international students in the US were found to rely mostly on the Bowers framework for international research: McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield (2012), examining the US, Canada, China, and Lebanon; Chapman & Lupman (2004), examining Hong Kong, China, and the US; Ryan, Steffenson, & Janeiro (2017), examining Germany and the US; Ehrich, Howard, Mu, & Bokosmaty (2016), examining Australia and China; Pabian (2015), examining Czechia compared to the rest of the world; Heckler & Forde (2015), examining local and international students in the Southeast of the US; Tran, Huynh, & Nguyen (2018), examining Vietnam; Williams, Tanner, Beard, & Chacko (2014), examining the United Arab Emirates and the US; Sivasubramaniam, Kostelidou, & Ramachandran (2016), examining India, Pakistan, and non-specified Western countries including the US; Madyarov et al. (2016), examining Armenia compared to the US; Yukhymenko-Lescroart (2014), examining Ukraine and the US; Denisova-Schmidt (2016), examining Russia and other Eastern European countries; and Teixeira & Rocha (2010), examining countries representing all continents, except Antarctica.

As such, worldwide, there is a framing of AIVs as student behavior, first and foremost, something which is not explicitly stated in both popular media and even the abstracts of many of the studies listed above (Bertram Gallant, 2008; Lang, 2013;

McKibban & Burdsal, 2013; Pabian, 2015). Furthermore, there is a strange metamorphosis which occurs in which the fact that most studies use self-reporting is conveniently not mentioned in either popular media or the abstracts of the studies most frequently cited (Lang, 2013; Pabian, 2015). Once a study has shown a particular rate of some behavior or a statistical difference between self-reported behaviors in gender, national origin, religion, or native language, it is simply taken up as being representative of actual practice.

As Pabian (2015) noted in his study of Czech IHEs, the Bowers typology used to analyze AIVs relies entirely on a model of assessing both how well students have acquired material presented by instructors and faculty and how well students have been able to act in accordance with what instructors deem to be "good" student behaviors, rather than on how much knowledge and what skills students have acquired through their own ability to co-construct knowledge. Since a great many cultures focus much more on the first aspect than the second (Buckner & Hodges, 2015; Lang, 2013; Teixeira & Rocha, 2010), Pabian argues that the Bowers typology leads to a misperception or misinterpretation of actual student practices. This is to say that, as noted in the introduction, since large-scale surveys and questionnaires rely on self-reporting of behavior, students from cultures that are more focused on demonstrating acquisition of material by instructors rather than meeting the model of the "good" student are more likely to self-report behaviors judged to be AIVs than students from cultures in which both acquisition and disposition are valued (Buckner & Hodges, 2015; Lang, 2013; McKibban & Birdsall, 2013; Pabian, 2015). For example, in a culture that values test-verified capacities, one might reasonably expect

more cheating on tests than in a culture that focuses more on actual capacities demonstrated through practical or in viva examinations (Bertram Gallant, Binkin, & Donohue, 2015). With this distinction in mind, Pabian argues the consensus among several large-scale studies showing that students in Asia and Eastern Europe are "most likely to cheat" is largely fatuous. This is supported by the few existing studies of actual student behavior rather than self-reported behavior (Fass-Holmes, 2017; Martin, Rao, & Sloan, 2011), which show that actual student engagement in AIVs is not very different across student ethnicities, countries of origin, or first languages when accounting for adaptation to cultural standards. As Martin, Rao, & Sloan (2011) note, students who report being accustomed to local norms demonstrate similar engagement in AIVs to local students.

Thus, in the majority of studies, international students at US IHEs, as well as students throughout the world, are evaluated based on a standard established more than fifty years ago to evaluate local student practices at US IHEs, not taking into account faculty or administrative practices, and not taking into account how culture might shape and guide definitions and adjudications of AIVs (Bertram Gallant, 2008; Lang, 2013; Pabian, 2015). Moreover, while such a bias towards particular definitions is global, the specific policies of IHEs in the US are notably non-specific as to what constitutes an AIV, preferring to fall back on vague definitions of going against the wishes of a faculty member (Bayer, 2004; McGrail & McGrail, 2015).

Punishments

On its own, this lack of specificity would be enough to put international students at a substantial disadvantage, since a framework invisible to at least international students guides how faculty and administrators judge the behaviors of international students as being either AIVs or not (Bertram Gallant, Binkin, & Donohue, 2015). Although the idea that international students engage in AIVs more than local students is questionable and based on a logic that ignores the learning taking place through practices that can be seen as plagiarism (Chandrasoma, Thompson, & Pennycook, 2004), it is undeniable that international students are identified and punished proportionately far more than local students for engaging in AIVs (Fass-Holmes, 2017; Jordan & Belkin, 2016). In perhaps the largest study on the subject, Jordan & Belkin (2016), reporters for the *Wall Street Journal*, examined academic integrity records for 14 public IHEs in the US, and found that international students were cited for AIVs proportionately five times more frequently on average than domestic students. In Fass-Holmes' (2017) examination of one California IHE, international students reported for AIVs held steady at approximately 6% of the total population of international students; of those reported, between 75% and 90% received some sort of sanction. Furthermore, in Beasley's (2016) study of Michigan State University data, international students, while representing between 7 and 10% of the overall student population, were found to represent between 40 and 53% of all reported AIVs depending on the year of analysis; the were up to five times more likely to be reported than local students. To put this in perspective, Beasley's data found that of a total student body of 33,180 in Fall 2009, there were 102 AIVs,

representing approximately 0.3% of the student body. However, 44 (43%) of these cases involved international students, whose total student body was 2,636. This represents 1.6% of the international student body compared to 0.3% of the overall student body. In 2011, the corresponding numbers were 0.42% of the overall student body and 2% of the international student body, with 53% of all AIV cases (73 out of 137) involving international students (Beasley, 2016, p. 54).

Though some studies have suggested that the great majority of AIVs are not mentioned and are not sanctioned (Coren, 2011; Keith-Spiegel et al, 1998; Lang, 2013), there is still a sobering characteristic of this discrepancy in rates of reporting, and that is the substance of punishments that international students suffer compared to local students. Domestic students typically receive less punitive sanctions, including needing to redo an assignment, retake a class, having to accept a grade reduction, having to complete an anti-plagiarism class, or having to write apologies to persons affected by AIVs (ICAI, 2014). In far fewer cases, domestic students are suspended from or expelled from IHEs, and in very rare cases, domestic students have been prosecuted for fraud, but only if they have actively helped other students to participate in exam cheating or plagiarism (Lang, 2013; SEVIS, 2018; South China Morning Post, 2018). Most notably, this last sanction is most common when the domestic student is helping international students to cheat on exams, something which took place in Pennsylvania and resulted in a number of prosecutions for fraud (Tyre, 2016).

All of the above sanctions are possibilities for international students as well; however, they entail additional consequences, and more extreme sanctions are

possible as well. While suspension or expulsion are difficult possibilities for local students, they are potentially disastrous for international students, since international students must maintain enrollment in order to retain their visa and remain in the US (SEVIS, 2018; WholeRen, 2017). When a local student is expelled or suspended, the student can go to another IHE, try to find a job, or simply go home and decide on a new course of action (Lang, 2013; WholeRen, 2017). However, when an international student is expelled or suspended, the student must begin immediately to either find a way to have their visa transferred to another IHE or make plans to exit the country (IIE, 2017; SEVIS, 2018; WholeRen, 2017). Doing this entails a heavy financial and logistical burden, since a student who wishes to transfer to another IHE must find a willing IHE, apply for admission, be admitted, notify their current IHE in order to transfer the visa to the new IHE, and pay any fees associated with admission and transfer (IIE, 2017; SEVIS, 2018; WholeRen, 2017). Assuming that an international student is not able to find another IHE willing to grant acceptance, the student then has to find a way to either return to their home country or go to another country, since student visas require holders to exit the US as soon as possible in the case of expulsion (SEVIS, 2018).

However, assuming that an international student receives a lesser penalty, such as having to repeat a course, the financial consequences are far greater than for local students. Since financial aid is generally not available for international students (Davis, Drinan, & Bertram Gallant, 2009), and since almost every public IHE charges international students different prices for courses (usually two to three times that of local students at state institutions) (IIE, 2017), the cost of repeating a course for an

international student can easily exceed the cost of an entire term for local student at state institutions (IIE, 2017; Tyre, 2016).

Finally, assuming that a student is found to have committed a grave AIV, such as taking high-stakes tests for other students in order to gain admission to prestigious IHEs (Tyre, 2016), or having paid someone else to take such a test for her/him (South China Morning Post, 2018), the possibility exists of being convicted of a U.S. federal crime (SEVIS, 2018; South China Morning Post, 2018). This is owing to the fact that obtaining a student visa through fraudulent means is a federal crime in the US (SEVIS, 2018), and can be prosecuted as such. Although this does not happen frequently, it is a possibility, and in recent years the threat of prosecution has been used to convince students to accept deportation rather than risk jail time (South China Morning Post, 2018; Tyre, 2016). Huang Leyi, mentioned earlier, opted to accept voluntary deportation upon her convicted role in the Pennsylvania incident, since the other option available to her was time in US Federal prison (South China Morning Post, 2018).

Another aspect of the punishment of international, as well as US, students for AIVs is the fact that arbitration of offenses is heavily biased in favor of IHEs, something noted by legal analyses of cases involving higher education (Draper & Newton, 2017; Gajda, 2009). Traditionally, courts have been reticent to challenge the actions of IHEs regarding internal workings, preferring to dismiss challenges or uphold IHE decisions based on procedural rules (Gajda, 2009).

In the previously mentioned case at University of Delaware (*Xu Feng v. University of Delaware*, 2018), a graduate student from China was required to

complete additional coursework and increase his GPA while maintaining proper visa status, owing to his low grades in previous terms. The university promised that it would make additional resources available to the student in order to assist him with issues with academic English and writing standards, stating that he would be able to continue his studies within two terms.

However, it refused to count credits used towards improving his English towards his credit requirements to maintain a student visa. As a result, the student had to continue taking his required nine credits of graduate coursework, as well as academic English courses and additional counseling outside of his graduate courses. This proved to be too difficult for him, and as a result, his grades did not improve. The university then expelled him for not maintaining high enough grades. The student sued the university for breach of contract, alleging that it had promised to help him and that it had promised he would be allowed to continue his studies. He further alleged that the university had been negligent in forcing him to continue taking a full courseload while simultaneously working on his academic English and study skills, noting that Americans were able to take only one course while doing this, while because of visa restrictions, he was required to take a full courseload. In this case, the court simply stated that the student had waited too long to bring a claim against the university, and that visa requirements are outside the purview of a university, thus dismissing the case.

In summary, international students can expect to be accused and punished for AIVs much more than local students. When punished, the consequences are more financially and logistically burdensome for international students than local students.

Finally, if an international student chooses to contest a sanction, it will mean engaging with a court system which tends to avoid questioning decisions made by higher education institutions.

Conclusion

In reviewing existing literature on international students and academic integrity, it is clear that a great deal of information exists on how students around the world conceive of and evaluate the Bowers typology of behaviors. Teixeira & Rocha (2010), in their comprehensive study of global attitudes, demonstrate that there is definitely a large variability in what persons report their views of cheating to be throughout the world. Beyond this, it is clear that research on self-reported behaviors using the Bowers framework show variability in student willingness to report engaging in certain behaviors, as well as commonality in the fact that students around the world report engaging in all behaviors in the Bowers typology (McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012; Pabian, 2015). Multiple studies of student responses on the questionnaires sent out by the ICAI have shown that certain factors are associated with increased likelihood to self-report participating in AIVs, notably male gender, lower SES, lower official language ability, lower GPA, and first-generation college attendance status (Miller, Murdock, Anderman, & Poindexter, 2006; Strangfeld, 2019). However, it is also clear that self-reported behavior and actual behavior do not match up in many cases, just as value judgments do not predict actual behavior when AIVs are concerned (Bastardi, Uhlmann, & Ross, 2011; McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012).

In all of this, there is a distinct lack of stated perspectives of international students in their own words. No studies have sought to engage international students about how they feel about the sanctions they receive, their perceptions of how frequently they receive such sanctions, nor how they feel about the sanctions that others receive. No study so far has examined what happens to international students, who have been sanctioned, in the rest of their academic careers, since such information is lacking from administrative data currently available (Beasley, 2016; Fass-Holmes, 2017).

Most notably, though, no study has sought to engage international students in a discussion of their understanding of academic integrity without resorting to the use of the Bowers typology. Even in the studies which have asked international students to discuss their understandings of rules of integrity, the Bowers typology has been used to provoke discussion and to guide ideas of what should count as AIVs (Isbell, Chaudhuri, & Schaeffer, 2018). Thus, no real analysis has yet been done on what academic integrity means to international students.

Finally, no study has yet sought to get inside the unanalyzed portion of AIVs; that is, no study has sought to engage with students whose AIVs were not caught, to examine their perspectives on their actions and their results, and how they see them fitting into the academic world. As such, we are currently left with a very unclear and incomplete picture, one which is only able to scratch the surface of academic integrity as it occurs and is constructed on a daily basis for all members of the US IHE community, and one which unfortunately relies greatly on common understandings and the framing of actions rather than on actual perspectives and practices.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

Introduction

To date, most research focused on AIVs has been guided by theories of rational choice (McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012; Bertram Gallant & Drinan, 2009), particularly Ajzen's (2012) theory of planned behavior. Rational choice theories all treat AIVs as a deviant behavior which individuals choose to engage in, though this choice is mediated by certain factors (Ajzen, 2012; Cronan, Mullins, & Douglas, 2018; Williams et al, 2014).

Ajzen's theory, by far the most popular, utilizes a framework guiding reasoned choice that postulates three main moderating and/or mediating factors towards the decision to engage in a particular behavior: individual attitudes towards the behavior, subjective norms towards the behavior inside groups which an individual is a member of, and perceived behavioral control, or the extent to which an individual feels that his or her behavior is within his or her own ability to regulate (Ajzen, 2012; Sniehotta et al, 2014). This framework has been very influential in designing behavior interventions in many fields, notably in public health campaigns, and as a result, has been seen as useful in examining deviant behavior in a number of other fields (Ajzen, 2014; Sniehotta et al, 2014).

However, the use of rational choice theory in regards to AIVs is problematic for a number of reasons. The first of these is the fact that the scholars employing this perspective all regard behavior as reasoned (i.e., the result of a conscious choice), if not entirely rational in an objective sense. This is to say that although there is no presumption of pure objective rationality, there is a presumption that behavior is

rational based on given parameters. As Ajzen (2014) stated in a response to criticism that his theory focuses on rationality, "people' s attitudes, subjective norms and perceptions of control follow reasonably and consistently from their beliefs, no matter how the beliefs were formed" (p. 3). Ajzen then goes on to indicate that given enough accurate measurement of the meaningful parameters of choice, individual behavior can be very well predicted.

The trouble with this idea of behavior as a reasoned activity is that it directly contradicts a wealth of literature which shows that a great deal of behavior is not reasoned (i.e., the result of a conscious choice) at all, but rather automatic and unconscious (Cialdini, 2007; Kahneman, 2011; Sniehotta et al, 2014). Indeed, as many scholars have shown, many commonly perceived AIVs are not even activities which students or scholars consider before engaging in them, particularly when there are shaped by their culture (Ma, McCabe, & Liu, 2013; Parbian, 2015; Pennycook, 1996; Strangfeld, 2019). As Pennycook (1996) noted, the automaticity of certain behaviors in academic writing is such that without a clear calling of attention to ideas such as citation or proper attribution, many students do not even know that it is necessary to consider such areas. Although some argue that this falls under Ajzen's (2014) notion regarding perceived behavioral control, it is clear that such a notion still involves conscious consideration of a given behavior, rather than automatic or instinctual (i.e., unconscious) engagement in such behavior (Pennycook, 1996).

Beyond this, there is also the issue of where particular attitudes, rules, and perceptions come from, something which Ajzen's above quotation is so quick to dismiss. As McCabe, Trevino, and Butterfield (2012) have indicated, there have been

changes to overall rates of participation in, as well as perceptions of, different AIVs over the last fifty years in the US. This aligns with other research aiming to establish overall rates of AIVs in other countries as well, which has shown that rates of AIVs do not remain constant, but rather fluctuate depending on whether or not a particular behavior is considered an AIV or not in given countries (McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012; Teixeira & Rocha, 2010; Williams et al, 2014). This is indeed what Becker (1963) and Goffman (1963) noted in regards to deviant behavior as well: it is not a static element, but rather something which changes with the times and overall social context. As such, it is important to note that not only is there a historical dimension to deviant behavior, but there is also a certain relativism regarding what constitutes a deviant act.

Ajzen's (2014) theory deliberately focuses on a moment in time; at no point does the idea of a diachronic view come to bear on the rules which not only govern, but also establish, deviant behavior (Becker, 1963). By focusing on describing a path of reasoning through which individuals consciously choose to engage in a given behavior, Ajzen's theory does not allow for an analysis of any history of how this particular path came to be or where it is going (Sniehotta et al., 2014).

As such, there is a need to find a better frame with which to address AIVs in the context I seek to analyze. Rather than assuming individual, reasoned choice, there must be space for automaticity and instinct. As well, there must be a place for the examination of the development of attitudes and norms in a context where multiple perspectives are present. No one theory successfully incorporates these elements, and as such, I have elected to use three main theories which will guide my inquiry:

labeling theory (Becker, 1963), attribution theory (Kahneman, 2011), and the theory of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984). These theories possess complementary attributes regarding how norms are created and interpreted, as well as how historical realities, culture, and power come to exercise influence over both the creation and interpretation of norms of academic conduct. As such, they provide a more comprehensive lens through which to view the issue of AIVs which is not present in other commonly used theories. I will address each of the aforementioned theories in order here.

Labelling Theory

The main theory which will guide my analysis of academic integrity violations is Becker's (1963) labeling theory. Labeling theory examines the ways in which persons and actions are classified as deviant in society, particularly in regards to phenomena which are common yet not easily quantified or observed, and the ways in which individuals and groups come to see themselves in light of such classifications. Becker (1963), in his original work, closely examined users of marijuana, a group of people who were classified at the time as being deviants, both in common understanding and in scholarly literature. In his examination of marijuana users, Becker noted that while the overall usage of marijuana throughout the US is quite extensive and cuts across socioeconomic and ethnic strata, it is largely specific socioeconomic and ethnic groups who are singled out as prototypical deviant "users." This is to say that the usage of marijuana was being characterized quite differently depending on one's group membership, with the usage of marijuana among lower

socioeconomic groups being tied to judgments of deviance, while among higher socioeconomic groups such usage is largely ignored or treated as just a passing phase.

His argument regarding this is that actions themselves are neither deviant nor desirable or normal on their own; rather, it is through the judgment of others that actions become deviant, and that those persons perceived as engaging in such actions are classified as deviant themselves. Becker provides a four-part classification of so-called deviant behavior as follows:

Table 1: Labelling categories

	Types of deviant behavior	
	Obedient behavior	*Rule-breaking behavior*
Perceived as deviant	Falsely accused	Pure deviant
Not perceived as deviant	Conforming	Secret deviant

(1963, p. 20)

This classification of behaviors does not consider any behavior as deviant in itself, but rather in consideration of two other factors: what social rules govern the behavior and how the behavior is perceived. To this is added a further refinement regarding actors and perceivers. Becker notes that it is typically not the person or group of persons engaging in a particular action who perceive their actions as deviant, but rather others outside the given context wherein these actions take place. As such, it is the rules of the perceiving group which are used to guide classification of behavior, not the rules of the group being perceived. Becker notes that this most frequently involves the creation and enactment of rules by powerful influencers or

"moral entrepreneurs" (p. 147) who typically belong to higher socioeconomic strata and create rules which, while supposedly applicable to everyone, most often are levied against those from lower socioeconomic strata (p. 22). These moral entrepreneurs are further subdivided into rule makers and rule enforcers, who, as Becker notes, often find their respective forms in politicians and employees of the legal or regulatory system of a given environment (p. 152).

Of great note here is the fact that the perceptions of those who are judged to be deviant are not considered in the initial labeling of deviant actions; however, their perceptions become very important in guiding their subsequent actions. Becker outlines a process whereby owing to a perceived commission of a deviant act, a person or group is labeled as deviant. This person or group, as Becker (1963) and others (Bernburg, 2009; Kavish, Mullins, & Soto, 2014; Mankoff, 1971) have argued, may be more likely to engage in deviant behavior in the future, or at the very least, be accused of or perceived as having engaged in, deviant behavior, owing to the stigma which accompanies previous deviant labeling. This, then, leads to a double bind in which those persons or groups who are labeled as "deviant" are forced to deal with this label, thus needing to alter their self-perceptions and their perceptions of others over time (Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002). In regards to this, Becker notes that a great deal of research has striven to examine deviant behavior in a synchronic manner, using only point-in-time questionnaires with no analysis of the provenance or progression of behavior. This, Becker (1963) argues, eliminates the possibility of examining what he terms "deviant careers" (p. 25), or the narratives and histories of persons and groups involved with deviant behaviors.

One very important aspect of this idea of a deviant career is how it relates to the two quadrants which involve (mis)perceptions above. Becker notes that once a behavior is labeled as deviant, those people who engage in the behavior, but who have not been perceived as such, will develop strategies and techniques to ensure that they are not perceived as deviant and so will avoid the negative consequences of having a deviant label put on them (Becker, 1963; Bernburg, 2009; Goffman, 1963). Becker notes how secret deviants in his classification system will often group together and establish rules of their own to ensure that they are not detected, noting how such groups will categorize places and situations as safe spaces or dangerous spaces. Dangerous spaces are seen as ones in which the appearance of normalcy or lack of deviant behavior must be maintained, whereas safe spaces are ones in which there is no need to hide a deviant behavior as it is seen as normal inside the given space or situation (Bernburg, 2009; Mankoff, 1971).

Beyond this, Becker notes that similar notions of safe and dangerous places exist for those persons who are falsely accused, or excessively accused, of deviant behavior. As others have found, persons from lower socioeconomic strata are more frequently accused of some types of deviant behavior regardless of their actual engagement in such behavior (Adams, Johnson, & Evans, 1998; Kahneman, 2011; Nosek, Banaji, & Greenwald, 2002). Thus, persons who feel that they are more susceptible to being labeled as deviant tend to engage in the same protective behaviors as persons who actually do engage in deviant behavior (Mankoff, 1971).

It is important to acknowledge the criticism that labeling theory has received since its creation, most of which stem from its predictive capability (Clinard & Meier,

2010). Several scholars have criticized what they viewed as the over-general nature of labeling theory, characterizing it as claiming that the act of ascribing a deviant label automatically led to more deviance (Bernburn, 2009; Clinard & Meier, 2010; Mankoff, 1971). These scholars claim that since the application of a deviant label does not, *de rigeur*, lead to deviant behavior, the theory itself must be discarded and replaced with a rational choice theory with greater predictive validity (Clinard & Meier, 2010).

While this criticism is well applied in terms of pure predictive capability under a model of either multiple regression or multilevel modeling based on survey data, it is important to note that Becker and others never claimed to be searching for a purely predictive model based on synchronic data (Becker, 1963; Goffman, 1963; Mankoff, 1971). In fact, Becker was quite clear in stating that a synchronic model was inappropriate for examining deviance, since there are multiple factors involved in how deviance is established, judged, and interpreted through experience. Mankoff (1971) noted this in his examination of ascribed versus achieved deviance, arguing that there was a difference between a label which is applied due to actual performance of a deviant act and a label which is applied based on appearances or characteristics. Based on this, several scholars have interpreted criticisms of labeling theory as misinterpretations of the theory itself, understanding the theory as being purely predictive rather than explanatory (Clinard & Meier, 2010).

As such, it is important to note that there is a need to consider labeling theory not as a predictive quantitative measure of deviance, but rather as an explanatory

theory which serves to aid in the interpretation of narratives of the establishment of deviant behavior. It is in this sense that I have used labeling theory in this study.

Labeling theory thus provides several conceptual tools which are invaluable in examining academic integrity violations. Identifying what rules are used as a basis for labeling deviant behavior, who creates these rules, who enforces these rules, and whose perception is most frequently relied upon when establishing deviant behavior are all very important in examining the notions of academic integrity and academic integrity violations. Furthermore, examining the actions and perceptions of those persons who either engage in academic integrity violations, or who fear that they will be excessively accused of academic integrity violations, will provide a much clearer picture of how academic integrity is actually conceived of and how it is enacted by those persons who are most cognizant of what it means to be labeled as deviant in this regard. Perhaps most importantly, though, the idea of treating deviant behavior as a process and history does a great deal to eliminate an essentialized view of one particular moral code and set of behaviors as desirable/normal or deviant. Indeed, it is exactly this type of thinking which labelling theory addresses as being the act of moral entrepreneurship, wherein a person with power or seeking power establishes a sense of umbrage against a violation of a supposedly essential and timeless rule in order to stir up popular sentiment against some supposedly deviant action. Moral entrepreneurship, as noted by Becker (1963), very frequently entails actions that target the most vulnerable portions of societies as being intrinsically deviant, which can lead to characterizations of certain races or ethnicities as deviant and in need of rehabilitation. By examining the process through which rules are created and

enforced, then how labels are applied to actions and persons, then how the perceptions and actions of persons may change, offers a much clearer picture of what a given deviant behavior truly means.

There are certain limitations to labeling theory, however, in regards to AIVs, largely revolving around the fact that unlike specific deviant behaviors such as marijuana usage, AIVs take a multitude of forms, both in terms of types of behavior and in terms of the various codes which govern academic behavior. Becker focused particularly on activities which involve a group element to them, something which allows for the aforementioned examination of safe spaces and ways in which groups develop their own ways of dealing with their own deviant labeling. However, when dealing with individual actions, particularly those of individuals who fall into Becker's secret deviant quadrant, labeling theory does not provide many tools for the analysis of perceptions and behavior. There is an intriguing possibility of examining how individuals in the secret deviant group perceive labels; however, this has been little utilized in previous research and will need to be examined in the course of my research.

Beyond this, AIVs are subject to multiple standards among departments, disciplines, schools, and ranks of academia, as noted previously. This creates a unique challenge for an examination of how deviant behavior is labeled, since there is little homogeneity of definitions or application of standards across fields. In Becker's research, as well as that of others who have used labeling theory, there is often one formal norm which is analyzed rather than multiple norms, thus allowing for an easier overall comparison of groups affected by the norm (Clinard & Meier, 2010; Franzese,

2015; Mankoff, 1971). Thus, it is necessary to modify how norms are established and addressed in this theory when addressing AIVs.

Attribution Theory

As noted concerning labeling theory, certain persons and groups are often perceived as having engaged in deviant behavior even when they have not, or are more likely to be noted to have engaged in deviant behavior even though others are engaged in such behavior more frequently (Kahneman, 2011; Mazar, Amir, & Ariely, 2008; Nosek, Banaji, & Greewald, 2002). In order to explain this, a great deal of research in social psychology has examined attributions, or the ways in which persons and groups perceive whether, how and why other persons and groups engage in specific actions (Kahneman, 2011). Attribution theory involves the psychological analysis of the judgments that people make regarding the actions of other people, specifically in regards to the more automatic judgments that commonly take place in human perception (Kahneman, 2011). Notably, a great deal of research has examined how certain perceptual biases lead to incorrect attributions, particularly biases related to gender, national origin, culture, and sexual orientation (Kahneman, 2011; Nosek, Banaji, & Greenwald, 2002).

Three common attributional biases noted in this body of research have a clear bearing on academic integrity violations and perceptions of deviance. The first of these related to the concept of locus of control (Nosek, Banaji, & Greenwald, 2002). Locus of control refers to where responsibility for a particular event or action is perceived to be, with a common division between internal and external locus of control. As an example of this, when viewing someone dropping a glass of water, the

internal locus of control perspective would be to consider that the person who dropped the glass is responsible for it falling. An external locus of control perspective would be to consider that the glass dropping was due to some other factor, such as the glass being slippery or too hot to hold. The concept is most frequently used in examining how individuals define responsibility for their own actions; however, there is a tendency to perceive others as solely responsible for their actions, rather than considering how environmental variables or other external causes may have contributed to a given action, while perceiving oneself to be subject to external constraints and factors which guide actions (Kahneman, 2011). This is referred to as the fundamental attribution error and has been noted across cultures and situations (Krull et al, 1999). Thus, when asked why a particular person or group of people has engaged in academic integrity violations, most people will report that it is simply owing to the character of the person or group (Kahneman, 2011).

The second of these is the in-group versus out-group bias, in which persons who are perceived as being members of the same group that perceivers belong to are seen as more desirable, more individual, and less likely to engage in deviant behavior (Molden & Higgins, 2012). In contrast, those who are seen as not belonging to the same group as the perceiver are seen as less desirable, more suspect, less individual, and more likely to engage in deviant behavior (Miron, Branscombe, & Biernat, 2010). This has been demonstrated regarding gender, race, culture, socioeconomic status, and ethnicity, among other features (Molden & Higgins, 2012). Thus, when asked to determine whether or not a particular person is guilty of a crime, several studies have shown that when an accused criminal belongs to a different race, gender, culture, or

ethnic group than the person asked to render judgment, the person rendering judgment is more likely to perceive him or her as guilty than otherwise (Nosek, Banaji, & Greenfeld, 2002).

However, there is one other bias which can counteract this which has bearing on academic integrity as well. Several studies have demonstrated that there is a tendency to be more lenient in judgments of persons who have attributes which are seen as more desirable/valued in a given situation, though this is highly culturally dependent (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002; Nosek, Banaji, & Greenfeld, 2002). As such, a member of a group perceived as less valued can be more lenient towards a member of a group seen as more valued, expressing more positive attitudes towards persons who are not actually part of the same group as them (Nosek, Banaji, & Greenfeld, 2002). Thus, several studies have shown that members of minority ethnic groups often rate members of the majority ethnic groups as more trustworthy and less likely to engage in deviant behavior, particularly when examining immediate reactions (Kahneman, 2011; Nosek, Banaji, & Greenfeld, 2002).

These concepts provide a great deal of insight in regards to academic integrity when examining the elements mentioned above in labeling theory, particularly concerning sets of rules and perceptions of guilt or innocence as well as the perceived need for more or less severe punishment for those engaged in deviant behavior.

Cultural capital and habitus

Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital forms an essential element of my theoretical framework based on its applicability to schooling and its relationship to power, social class, and social status or group membership. Bourdieu noted clearly in

his work how certain sets of features of cultural familiarity correlate with particular societal positions, notably in a manner very consistent with existing research on attribution theory. Bourdieu's position *vis a vis* educational attainment was that at its heart, a great deal of educational attainment is determined by, or is representative of, one's social class standing or group membership and the embodied habits, linguistic and otherwise, which form part of such an identity (Bourdieu, 1984). This is demonstrated in his work *State Nobility* (1998b), in which he documents how certain representations of one's social class and group membership remain a notable determinant of educational attainment and subsequent workforce attainment regardless of membership in a particular educational institution, something which he examines through obituaries and their content. This total agglomeration is what Bourdieu refers to as cultural capital – that combination of intangible and tangible aspects of a particular culture or social status which are commonly associated with that culture or status, and also which can be exchanged or utilized for particular ends (Bourdieu, 1984). The two aspects of this theory – the distinctive features of a given social group or status, and how these same play a role in exchanges – are of great importance in examining how labels are applied to certain groups regarding AIVs.

In regards to the first part of this theory, Bourdieu notes how the habits, linguistic tendencies, and cultural norms to which one is exposed when growing up all come to form a discernable whole which then creates a field inside of which a person acts and lives. All of these elements form a particular set of dispositions towards action and decisions. This *habitus*, to use Bourdieu's term, is associated with a particular disposition or cultural distinction towards a particular class position or

cultural group membership (Bourdieu, 1998b). In essence, Bourdieu theorizes that various social classes as well as cultures and subcultures have their own habitus, each of which can be associated with particular social realities. For example, a person from a rural and socioeconomically lower status region of a country will often possess a distinct accent, set of preferences for food, awareness of certain cultural phenomena, and set of preferences for literature, music, and news outlets (Bourdieu, 1984). Similarly, at the intercultural level, a person from one country will possess certain cultural and linguistic traits which are derived from the same areas or fields noted above, but a person from another country will possess a differing set of traits, something which can result in a person from one country evaluating another from a different country based on very different standards (Hofstede, 2001). This particular grouping of preferences can then be used as the basis for judging a person's social or group status and desirability, something which forms a key portion of attribution theory above.

Most importantly, Bourdieu notes that both habitus and cultural capital are often not conscious phenomena, but rather simply assumed aspects of everyday life, ones which are often only made observable under certain circumstances, such as exchanges of goods (Bourdieu, 1998a). This second aspect of Bourdieu's theory looks at the practical side of cultural capital: its use and exchange value. Bourdieu speaks of how this is made observable in university admissions as well as in obituaries, noting how an exact accounting of the valued aspects of one's life career is used in determining university admission, while the obituaries of graduates of top universities are often differentiated in this same way. In this regard, Bourdieu notes

how aspects of cultural capital and habitus such as social class, region of birth, accented speech, earlier schools attended, and, finally, academic performance all combine to form the basis for which both admission to desirable universities and the presence of valued accolades in obituaries is accorded (Bourdieu, 1998b).

Another interesting aspect of this is what Bourdieu refers to as euphemization, a process through which established parts of cultural capital and habitus are elided through the creation of certain unquestioned rituals (Bourdieu, 1998a). Thus, while one gift given and another received might have different real monetary values or exchange values (Silber, 2009), it would be impossible to actually examine these values in anything more than a broad sense, owing to the fact that the exchange itself is valued more than the actual value of what is exchanged. As such, when one person does a favor for another and the receiver of the favor reciprocates through a particular action, there is no exact accounting of price, but rather a perceived matching of equivalence of actions (Silber, 2009). As it pertains to AIVs and education in general, this relates to how particular actions are perceived and expressed in the social imaginary, much akin to Geertz's (1996) documentation of a slight based on a nonexistent rule violation – if a given slight is best dealt with rather than expressed, it is often of greater utility to pick a different crime and punishment than the original. This process relates specifically to how particular judgments of AIVs and punishments are perceived. Notably, recent research has demonstrated that professors often expect students in IHEs to come fully prepared to write term papers and cite works appropriately, feeling that professors should not have to teach about such issues (Peters, Boies, & Morin, 2019). The judgments and penalties for AIVs from

such professors can be quite harsh owing to a perception that students must already know all the rules for proper citation and writing, thus indicating that any case of plagiarism or inappropriate paraphrasing must be intentional. As such, it becomes very important to examine how particular values and adjudications are established and maintained as normal using Bourdieuian theory.

Conclusion

As the above has indicated, each theory mentioned addresses certain important aspects of AIVs in higher education. Labeling theory presents a useful set of classifications and actors to examine when considering how behavior is defined as deviant, and how this definition interacts with punishment, self-image, and group-image. This is particularly true in regards to how those who are judged come to deal with the stigma associated with a deviant label. Attribution theory presents a set of tools which allow for the analysis of where certain assumptions of culpability and innocence come from, particularly in multicultural environments. The theory of cultural capital allows for a nuanced examination of what features are most clearly associated with particular social groups, as well as what sort of exchange value these same have when it comes to assigning guilt or innocence, as well as whether or not to punish a given AIV. The applications of these theories to my analytical and research strategies are outlined in the following chapter.

Chapter 4: Methodology

Introduction

As stated previously, the research questions driving this study are:

1: How are both academic integrity and violations of it conceived of at US universities by undergraduate Chinese and Korean students in business and computer science departments?

2: How is the adjudication process for academic integrity violations [AIVs], particularly in regards to punishment, conceived of and interpreted by undergraduate Chinese and Korean students in business and computer science departments?

3: What differences, if any, exist between the conceptions of Chinese and Korean undergraduate students in computer science and business departments concerning a) academic integrity violations and b) the process of dealing with AIVs?

In order to address these questions, this study uses a generic qualitative method informed by thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Merriam, 2009). The remainder of this chapter will outline my rationale for using qualitative methods, provide a statement of positionality, and provide a set of steps that the research process followed.

Qualitative Methods

This study utilized a generic qualitative method for data collection (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Merriam, 2009), owing both to the fact that the nature of the phenomenon in question is such that it defies easy quantification and also to the fact

that the usage of survey or questionnaire instruments in previous research has led to an overemphasis on one narrow conception of academic integrity which focuses primarily on plagiarism and test cheating among undergraduate students (Macfarlane, Zhang, & Pun, 2017; McGrail & McGrail, 2015). Academic integrity itself, as noted in the review of literature, has no easy definition, and is in fact quite differently conceptualized and put into practice in different fields, at different academic levels, and among different cultures (Lang, 2013; Pabian, 2015; Pennycook, 1996). Beyond this, existing research shows that notions of what types of AIVs are punished, whose AIVs are punished, how they are punished, and whether or not a given action constitutes a punishable AIV are all quite varied among different institutions, academic roles, and levels of education (Beasley, 2016; Bertram Gallant, Binkin, & Donohue, 2015; McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012). As noted previously, a quantitative analysis of AIVs requires an a priori definition of what constitutes AIVs, negating the possibility of examining how individuals define and experience AIVs for themselves. In light of the above, this makes quantitative methods inappropriate for this study.

In order to be able to analyze the issue of AIVs in all their complexity, it is necessary to use a method that will allow for engagement with multiple perspectives, interpretations, and understandings of academic integrity. As such, I used qualitative methods here, since they are best able to handle such needs. As Denzin and Lincoln (2018) stated, the purpose of qualitative research is to "study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (p. 43). Yin (2011) offers five key features of qualitative

research, specifically the following: it studies the meanings of people's lives under real world conditions, represents the views of participants, covers and examines the contextual conditions in which people live, it contributes insights into the understanding of human behavior, and it strives to use multiple sources of data. In doing this, qualitative research tends to rely on a social constructivist ontology, since its object of inquiry is most commonly intangible and is only present in as much as it is enacted and understood by persons (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Merriam, 2009). In order to achieve this, qualitative research relies most heavily on interviews and collection of textual information from sources surrounding research participants, such as journals, policy documents, and online fora (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Merriam, 2009). Moreover, the researcher her or himself serves as a research instrument in making observations and collecting impressions about interactions with others, as well as in analysis of this same (Yin, 2011).

It is important to note here that the three theories guiding this study – labeling theory, attribution theory, and the theory of cultural capital – are all best addressed in a qualitative research model as well. This is owing to the fact that each theory focuses specifically on constructed social realities which are conceived of and enacted by persons (Becker, 1963; Bourdieu, 1984; Kahneman, 2011). As such, a great deal of research has utilized qualitative methods already when examining the application of these theories (Ashworth et al 2003, 1997; Burnett, Smith, & Wessell, 2016; Gullifer & Tyson, 2010; Higgins & Mackinem, 2008). Indeed, qualitative research was the foundation of labeling theory, relying heavily on interviews and inductive analysis to determine key themes and explore how individuals conceived of their own role in

given situations (Becker, 1963). While Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital was developed using statistical techniques as well as qualitative measures, it is important to note that the great majority of support and examination of his theory took qualitative form, particularly through analysis of documents, descriptions of lived experiences, and case studies of cultural capital in action in education (Bourdieu, 1984). Likewise, while a great deal of research on attributions has used experimental and statistical techniques, it has been supported by qualitative examinations of how individuals themselves understand and conceive of their own attributions (Kahneman, 2011; Nosek, Banaji, & Greenfeld, 2002).

Research Design: Data Sources

Following Braun and Clarke (2013) and Merriam (2009), the primary data sources I used and analyzed were student interviews. However, I examined a number of secondary sources of information in order to familiarize myself with the contexts of the participants involved in the study. These secondary sources included informational interviews, institutional academic integrity policies, as well any academic integrity policies at the school, department, or program level, as well as any records publicly available on academic integrity adjudication and punishment. I also examined publicly available websites and documents mentioned by students related to where participants find their information about academic integrity, where they discuss it, and how they communicate about expectations for academic work.

Interviews

The primary form of data collected, as mentioned above, was from semi-structured one-on-one interviews. There are several reasons for the use of semi-structured one-on-one interviews in this study. The first of these is that the research questions require a data collection method that allows for participants to express and clarify their thoughts, feelings, and perspectives on the topic of AIVs, something which best matches semi-structured interview (Yin, 2011). Beyond this, owing to the sensitive nature of the topic at hand, the likelihood of utilizing focus groups is limited, since participants may be unwilling or hesitant to discuss their face-threatening experiences and thoughts in the presence of others (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002; Yin, 2011). Finally, a semi-structured interview allows for adaptation to new information and novel statements by participants, and further allows for the inclusion of new questions or deletion of impertinent questions as the researcher deems fit during data collection. Owing to the fact that a great deal is still unknown regarding the perceptions and thoughts of international students regarding AIVs (Bista, 2011), it was necessary to not be too restrictive in the questions used for this study.

Indeed, the framing of questions and the type of phrasing used required some adaptation based on the majors and institutions students attended, with certain phrasings such as "getting honor coded" being very prevalent to refer to being accused of an AIV among computer science majors, with talk of informing on classmates for AIVs being referred to as "snitching," "ratting" on others, or "turning them in", and with an alteration of question 15 in the interview guide to be more

reflective, asking students to consider their past actions in light of their current knowledge and think of whether or not they have done something that might count as an AIV. Certain questions from the interview guide (attached as Appendix B) proved to be of limited usage, particularly those regarding comparison between home country and current institution in the US, while other specific themes brought up by students themselves proved to be much more fruitful as questions, particularly those related to informing on other classmates, the relative power of professors versus teaching assistants, and of how an accusation leads to an immediate label of guilt.

Interviews, which were conducted in English, were originally set to last between 45 minutes and one hour; however, many participants wished to continue speaking beyond one hour, with several participants continuing for 90 minutes and one continuing for two hours. The set of questions in interviews progressed from least face-threatening to most face-threatening, specifically in order to try to establish a rapport with participants before engaging in any topics that might prove difficult, and in order to allow participants the opportunity to disclose as much information as they felt comfortable disclosing. Thus, the questions moved from perceptions of AIVs to thoughts about the adjudication process of AIVs, before finally moving to discussion of personal experiences with AIVs and punishments of the same. This additionally allowed participants to become familiar with terminology used in the questions (as well as for the researcher to learn about terms and expressions interviewees used), and to establish that there was no judgment taking place in the interview process (Merriam, 2009).

Questions in the interview guide were devised using the three main guiding theories for the study, with a large focus on labelling theory's notion of visibility and invisibility of deviance (Becker, 1963). Several questions focused on student perceptions of who engages in AIVs and who is actually accused of engaging in AIVs, as well as who is perceived as falsely accused. Another set of questions focused on how students felt about being labelled a "cheater," as well as working with others who were either known to have engaged in AIVs or who had been labelled a "cheater." Other questions based in labelling theory focused on how students perceived others who had the deviant label applied to them, how they felt about the label being applied to them, and how they felt the label was actually applied in practice. From attribution theory, several questions focused on student perceptions of responsibility and fairness, particularly in terms of when punishment is merited and who has primary responsibility for AI. Notably, the final question of each interview asked participants what they would want to say to the professors, administrators, and instructors at their university about AI and AIVs, something intended to allow participants to express their concerns about not only how AI and AIVs are constructed at their institutions, but also how they feel about issues of responsibility surrounding AI and AIVs. Finally, three questions directly aimed to address cultural capital and habitus originally, though unfortunately, two of these questions proved to be of little use and had to be discarded. These were the aforementioned questions regarding comparison of home culture and US academic culture, which participants did not feel comfortable answering directly as an independent question. It is worthwhile to note that participants did offer multiple

comparisons of home culture and US academic culture in their answers to other interview questions, something which I tried to examine through follow-up questions and further conversation. The one question specifically surrounding cultural capital and habitus which was maintained in the interview guide asked participants to compare their own perceptions and practices of AI and AIVs before arriving in the US and at present and describe any differences they noted. This question was well received by participants and led to a great deal of follow-up discussion.

While I had initially hoped to engage in both distance and in-person interviews, the political and public health realities of the last few years made the latter impossible. As a result, all interviews were conducted via Zoom. After receiving informed consent from participants, I audio recorded and transcribed all interviews using an external audio recording device. I asked all participants if they would be willing to participate in follow-up interviews. Of the fifteen interviewees included in the final sample, ten reported that they were willing to participate in a follow-up interview; however, of these ten, only eight actually were willing and able to complete a follow-up interview. These follow-up interviews explored statements made by participants in earlier interviews, using direct quotations as much as possible, and involved participants reacting to and offering their thoughts on said statements.

In order to allow for constant reflection and comparison, I endeavored to stagger interviews, both with initial interviews and follow-up interviews. While I had initially tried to stagger interviews based on institution and major, I eventually simply staggered interviews based on participant availability given my own availability,

something which was put under strain due to pandemic conditions. My initial plan had been to speak with at least one participant at each institution before speaking to another participant at each institution. Fortunately, this was exactly what took place. Follow-up interviews took place after all initial interviews were completed, based on both my own availability and participant availability. Interviews took place over the course of a year in order to allow for both reflection and revision of findings and interview questions, as well as to ensure that themes established based on initial interviews could be evaluated by additional participants and through follow-up interviews. This process of reflection also allowed for triangulation and member checking (Creswell, 2009; Merriam, 2009; Yin, 2011), something which will be discussed in greater detail later in this section.

Informational interviews

In order to establish a clear view of the overall situation regarding AIVs among international students, I also engaged in several informational interviews with participants who simply wished to provide their experiences and thoughts about the above. These interviews were not included in the overall data set but were very influential in my understanding of the nature of AIVs and AI in general at the institutions I examined in this study. In order to gain a deeper and wider perspective on the matter of AIVs, I spoke with several professors, contract cheating providers[2] (Lancaster, 2018), and students about their experiences and understandings of AI and AIVs. In particular, I spoke with a business professor, two administrators in offices of

[2] Contract cheating providers are individuals or agencies who offer to complete assignments or tests on behalf of students in exchange for monetary or other compensation (Lancaster, 2018).

international education, a lawyer specializing in academic integrity code violations, two individuals who were or are providing contract cheating services to students, and international and domestic students in both business and computer science majors.

Below is a table of all those with whom I spoke for informational interviews, including country of origin, major, role or position, and notes showing relation to AI or AIVs.

Table 2: Informational Interviews

Country of origin	Major (if applicable)	Role or position	Notes
Pakistan	Business	Student, Undergraduate	Involved in ongoing AI case
India	Political Science	Student, Graduate	Involved in completed AI case
Korea	Education	Student, Graduate	Responsible for adjudicating AI cases
Korea	Law	Student, Graduate	Involved in multiple AI cases
Taiwan	Computer Science	Student, Undergraduate	Observer of multiple AI cases
Turkey	Computer Science	Student, Graduate	TA responsible for adjudicating AIVs
Iran	Business/Political Science	Student, Undergraduate	TA responsible for adjudicating AIVs
Germany	Business	Student, Undergraduate	Directly involved in several AI cases
Romania	Business/Journalism	Student, Undergraduate	Direct experience in AI cases
Jordan	Business	Student, Graduate	Experience in AI cases in US, Germany
US	Business	Student, Undergraduate	TA involved in AI cases
US	Computer Science	Student, Undergraduate	TA involved in AI cases
Unknown	N/A	Contract Cheating Provider	Current provider working globally with students
US	N/A	Contract Cheating Provider	Dave Tomar, author of *The Shadow Scholar*
US	N/A	Administrator, International Education	2 administrators directly involved in international education
US	N/A	Professor of Business	Directly involved in multiple AI cases

US	N/A	Lawyer, Academic Honor Code	Specifically focused on AI in university and law

My intent in speaking to this wide range of individuals was first and foremost to gain a greater understanding of the cultures of academic integrity at target institutions from a range of perspectives (Bertram Gallant, 2012; Eaton, 2020). This also allowed me to become familiar with key concepts and terms used by students regarding AIVs, such as the multiple online platforms used for coursework, the concept of "getting honor coded," and the fora where collaboration for courses take place, all of which are elaborated before my descriptions of participants in the following section.

Beyond this, though, I spoke with students in particular in order to try to recruit more participants for the study through snowball sampling, as well in order to discover any fora which might be better locations in which to post calls for participants. The snowball sampling hope was soon dashed, but several students provided information about Facebook groups which did prove useful in finding study participants. As other studies have noted, a great deal of discussion of AIVs takes place in certain online fora, both public and private, but the specific groups and sites on which such discussion takes place are often not easily found without an introduction to them from an insider (Sivasubramaniam et al, 2016; Stecklow et al, 2016; Tomar, 2012). I endeavored to learn more by speaking with the contract cheating providers, administrators, and professors listed above, in addition to the students.

Institutional policies and publicly available data

In addition to interviews, I examined publicly available institutional policies and data related to AIVs at each institution selected. While I had hoped that publicly available data on AIVs might be present for the institutions selected, it proved to not be so. The institution dubbed Public State University did have data available which I was able to access; however, this was not considered to be for public presentation, and as such, I did not include it in the overall study. North Atlantic and East Atlantic Universities did not provide any data on AIVs, which is in line with common practice (Jordan & Belkin, 2016; Selingo, 2020). I spoke with Douglas Belkin about his co-authored piece with Miriam Jordan directly related to this, in which both authors sought to obtain institutional data about AIVs in all states of the US, and he reported to me that it was most common for institutions to claim either to not be able to report data, not keep sufficient data, or not be able to respond to a FOIA (Freedom of Information Act) request without substantial lead time and consultation with legal counsel (Personal Communication, 2021).

Institutional policies, however, were readily available for all institutions studied here. The exact nature of these will be presented in the following section; however, each institution had a publicly available and institutional-wide policy on AIVs, particularly on the definition, adjudication, and punishment. As such, I reviewed all publicly available institutional policies regarding AIVs for each institution at the time of the study. It is important to note here that one institution was undergoing a review of its AIV policies at the time, something which one participant

was actively engaged in during our interviews. I have included the policy that this participant was working on at the time of our interview in my analysis here.

Ongoing monitoring of public fora

My initial monitoring of social media sites for each institution selected was in order to place calls for participants; however, this led to a constant monitoring over the course of the study to observe how instances of academic integrity were addressed and discussed. In each case that a participant or interviewee noted a social media site or group in which AI or AIVs were discussed, I made sure to observe said site or group if possible, continuing to do so for the course of the study. This provided the opportunity to both find new participants and to also monitor how AI and AIVs were either mentioned or not mentioned in social media. As such, I continued to monitor sites and groups mentioned by participants throughout the study. This led to a greater familiarity with the ways in which AI and AIVs were presented at each institution, as well as how AI and AIVs were framed. By continually monitoring social media sites for each institution and major, I was able to adapt interview questions for participants and also adapt the language of questions to match ongoing issues at each institution and for each major.

Research Design: Sites, Sampling, and Recruitment Sites

In order to provide for appropriate triangulation and comparison, research took place at three mid-Atlantic universities of comparable total enrollment, entrance requirements, and student body characteristics. The institutions selected are very focused on internationalization, have similar fields of study available at the undergraduate level, and have substantial international student populations. There are

several reasons for the selection of these sites. The first is that IHEs in this region tend to have a high perceived prestige among US IHEs (Arum & Roksa, 2011; Lang, 2013; McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012), something which has led to a high international student population in the area (IIE, 2018; SEVIS, 2018). Furthermore, IHEs in this region were key in the founding of the International Center for Academic Integrity, leading to many of Pavela's (1997) suggestions for policy being included in the academic integrity policies of these institutions (ICAI, 2014). Another important aspect of these institutions is the fact that per an agreement among area institutions, they will often share students for certain courses, or offer opportunities for inter-institutional interaction, leading not only to greater possibilities of shared stories and experiences among research participants, but also to more opportunities to examine differences at particular institutions.

Sampling

Participants whose interviews were included in the study were students who, at the time of the first interview, were attending one of three specified mid-Atlantic IHEs, had attended that institution for at least one year, were majoring in either business or computer science, and had personal experience dealing with AIVs in a broad sense. The profiles of each institution selected are outlined in the following chapter along with participant profiles to provide a greater understanding of each.

It is important to note here that while there are international students at all levels of education in the US, the focus of this study was on students at the undergraduate level. There are several reasons for this. First, the single largest group

of international students in the US is at the undergraduate level, thus making it easier to find participants (SEVIS, 2018). Beyond this, the great majority of academic integrity policies at US IHEs are aimed primarily at undergraduate AIVs, with graduate AIVs considered to be taboo or warranting immediate expulsion or separation from a university (McGrail & McGrail, 2015). Because of this, there is far less concern of harm to undergraduate students over the disclosure of AIVs than graduate students (MacFarlane, Zhang, & Pun, 2014; McGrail & McGrail, 2015). This means that international graduate students may be less willing to participate in interviews owing to the potential threat they represent. With this said, I also wanted to ensure that graduate students were able to participate if they chose to do so. Out of all participants included in the study, only one was a graduate student at the time of our interview. However, several other participants either transitioned into graduate studies between interviews or reported that they were considering doing so when we spoke.

In order to ensure comparability and a measure of consistency across respondents, and also to allow for more meaningful analysis of data, I initially elected to use a quota sample as a guide when arranging interviews. This sampling technique, a subset of purposive sampling (Yin, 2011), establishes ideal numbers of participants based on inclusion criteria. In this study, I set quotas based on the current international student population of the US; specifically, this was based on the most common countries of origin and majors of international undergraduates.

Regarding enrollments, the top three majors of international undergraduates in the US at the time of this study were all business schools, followed by engineering

and computer science (SEVIS, 2018). However, of these, engineering represents the major with the most lopsided enrollments by country of origin, with engineering being the major of more than 30% of all Saudi and Indian students, yet with a majority of students in engineering coming from China (IIE, 2018). In comparison, both business and computer science have more proportional representation for all the main international student groups under consideration for this sample. As such, my main focus here was on business and computer science to ensure a more balanced representation of international student groups. In regards to specific majors, it is important to note that computer science is most commonly available as a single major inside larger schools, whether of engineering, general sciences, or applied sciences (National Science Board, 2018), while business majors are usually varied and are specifically listed under schools of business (IIE, 2018). As such, I chose to examine only the majors that are shared in common among the three IHEs I have selected here, which are administration, finance, and accounting.

The top four countries of origin for international students in the US are currently China, India, South Korea, and Saudi Arabia, accounting for a total of 60% of all international students in the US (IIE, 2018). However, of these four, India has a sizeable population of both native English speakers and persons whose primary language of schooling is English, making India the country with the second largest number of English speakers behind the US (Government of India, 2001; Times of India, 2010). This is not the case with China, Saudi Arabia, and South Korea, which do not have any officially native English-speaking population (English First, 2018). Because of this, comparisons made between India and the other top four country

groups will have one very large issue in regards to language and its place in their experiences and scholastic lives, particularly in regards to academic integrity standards (Canagarajah, 2007). Because of this, I elected to focus on ensuring participation from students from China, Saudi Arabia, and South Korea above students from India. However, I invited participants from all countries, including India, to submit responses to the initial call for participants in order to gain insight about institutions, despite these interviews not being included in the final analysis.

Finally, I attempted to ensure equal representation of gender for business majors but did not expect to achieve equal gender representation for computer science majors. The reason for this is that while international undergraduates in the US are nearly at parity for gender representation in general, this varies depending on their major (IIE, 2018; National Science Board, 2018; SEVIS, 2018). While business majors are evenly split (IIE, 2018), computer science majors are more than 80% male (National Science Board, 2018). Because of this, I was aware that the likelihood of finding any female computer science majors willing to participate was quite low.

Recruitment

Initially, I reached out to the departments at each institution selected asking to post a call for participants on pertinent listservs, as well as offices of international affairs and student services. However, I met with a negative reaction to this from each department owing to the topic of the study, with the exception of Public State University's office of international affairs. Every department which I contacted wrote back stating that they did not feel that it would be appropriate to post such a call for

participants on an institutional listserv. This was also the reaction from administrators at each department I contacted, most of whom either referred me to the general contact whom I had already spoken with or reported that they did not feel that it was necessary to address the topic of academic integrity, something which Bertram Gallant and Drinan (2007) addressed as a clear disconnect between administrative staff and faculty. As an example of this, one email response from an administrator at North Atlantic University stated the following:

> Our international students are well aware of the rules of academic integrity because we provide a clear outline of our rules of academic integrity at orientation. We spend 45 minutes clarifying the rules of academic integrity at NAU in this presentation, followed by a question-and-answer session. If you wish to study the understanding of international students of academic integrity, perhaps it would be best to work with your own institution's office of international students. You can find them at the following web address.

Because of this, I made contact with student governments at each institution in hopes that they might be willing to circulate a call for participants on their listservs. This strategy was far more successful, and student governments at each institution sent my call for participants out and provided contact information for persons who might be interested. I contacted all the individuals who were specifically mentioned by each student government, and I was also contacted by individuals who had been notified by student governments that my study might be a good fit for them.

In addition to this, I posted calls for participants on social media sites for each institution, as well as to general groups for international students and for each of the

majors chosen for the study. The sites I used included Reddit, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and LinkedIn. On each site, I searched out any student groups specific to particular majors at the institutions chosen, as well as any groups for international students in general and international students specifically from the countries selected for the study. It is important to note here that the groups in which I posted continued to expand as interviews continued, since initial participants provided information about specific groups on specific social media sites that might prove fruitful. As such, recruitment through social media progressed alongside interviews, ending only when I had reached enough participants to have marginal representation of the designated departments at the selected institutions.

Finally, I made special efforts to reach out to the Saudi community in my recruitment efforts. I attempted to contact the Saudi Arabian Cultural Mission (SACM) several times, as this is the organization most closely linked to Saudi students who are studying in the US (Albalawi, 2014). However, I received no replies to my emails, and could not receive any reply through telephonic inquiry. I was hopeful that I might engage with individuals or groups through social media, but this did not bring about positive results. While I was able to make contact with several individuals about participating in the study and engaged in initial conversations about establishing a time for an interview, at the time of scheduled interviews, the individuals chose not to participate. As a result of this, I was unable to speak with any Saudi participants.

All calls for participants contained a link to a Google form which screened participants based on the criteria presented above. This form is attached here as

Appendix A. I contacted all those who filled out the form; however, many participants simply contacted me directly through social media and we went through participation criteria via instant message on the platform used there. Beyond this, for any possible participant reaching out to me directly, I communicated either through email or conversation about what the inclusion criteria were and whether or not they would be able to be included in the overall study.

Final Sample

The resulting participants that this strategy yielded are presented in the table below. As noted above, I was unable to speak with any Saudi participants, which is why Saudi is not a listed category below.

Table 3: Participants

Country of Origin	Gender	EAU, Business	EAU, CS	NAU, Business	NAU, CS	PSU, Business	PSU, CS
China	Male	1	3	1	1	-	-
	Female	4	-	-	-	2	-
Korea	Male	-	2	-	-	1	1
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-

While this is clearly quite different from the originally hoped for sample, as Braun and Clarke (2013) note, the perfect sample is something which rarely occurs in a qualitative research situation. Though the above sample does not allow for the types of comparisons I had originally hoped to make, each participant provided a wealth of stories and experiences well beyond what the interview guide covered, and meaningful comparisons are still possible among institutions and majors. It is

important to note here that since the overwhelming majority of recruitment took place through social media regarding a sensitive topic, it is understandable that fewer participants than desired would respond; moreover, it is very understandable that a call for participants from an unknown US white male would be perceived as a danger or threat, something which several participants commented on. Indeed, as one participant (Xia) stated, "I looked you up and I saw you and everything, but I still felt like I wanted more. You know, like you need to have your own website with your research, and it needs to be verified by the university. That's why I didn't want to talk with you at first." Indeed, this was a common comment among those who chose to not participate in the study. Many individuals replied to the call for participants with a statement of disbelief or distrust, stating that the call for participants was a ruse or device for ascertaining which students had cheated. However, given these conditions, the participants who completed interviews provided extremely informative stories and details of their experiences, such that an analysis of their stories and experiences is illuminating and productive in its own right.

Reflexivity and positionality statement

As the researcher is the primary data collection instrument and data analysis tool in a qualitative study, it is important to maintain a position of reflexivity throughout the research process (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Merriam, 2009). This must begin with a statement of researcher positionality prior to beginning any inquiry, both in order to acknowledge perspectives and biases possessed by the researcher and also to allow for greater awareness of factors which may influence the ways in which the researcher is limited in her/his inquiry (Creswell, 2009). To that end, I must

acknowledge here that my own interest in this topic stems from several experiences which have led me to feel that there is a disconnect between academic integrity policies and academic integrity practices as they relate to international students in the US.

For eight years, I worked as a teacher of English as a Foreign and Second Language, as well as English for Academic and Specific Purposes, at the university level, and in those capacities I worked almost exclusively with international students. During this time, I personally either encountered or learned about several incidents in which international students were accused of AIVs for a variety of reasons, many of which appeared to me to be capricious and random. I also had several experiences wherein my own students turned in work to me which was clearly not their own, and in each case, rather than simply turn these students in to the university disciplinary office, I spoke with them to determine whether or not they actually felt that what they had done constituted a violation of academic integrity. In some cases, students were aware that what they had done violated a rule, but in most cases they stated that they were not aware that their actions constituted any sort of problem. Beyond this, over the course of my work, I noted several occasions on which instructors and administrators exchanged grades or admissions for gifts or promises to not pursue disciplinary actions over an honor code violation. On one notable occasion, when a student attempted to give me a bottle of whiskey in exchange for a better grade, I immediately reported the incident to my supervisor, who advised me to keep the bottle and its contents and use my best judgment when it came time for grading. I also noted how my university struggled with its desire to establish an English proficiency

score that was low enough to allow large numbers of international students to attend courses, but also high enough to ensure that minimal remedial English courses would be necessary to provide. In more recent times, I have served as a member of the Honor Review Board at the university where I was pursuing my doctorate, hearing cases in which both undergraduate and graduate students are accused of AIVs in a number of forms. Though I am bound to secrecy regarding the specific contents of these hearings, I can state that I have witnessed the exact same issues here, even with graduate students. Most notably, I have seen how almost no faculty in the cases I have been part of have provided any guidance regarding citation formats, with some actually stating that this is beneath them, then describing their feelings of betrayal when a student fails to use exact, proper citation.

These experiences have led to me a critical perspective on academic integrity as it pertains to international students. I am thus more predisposed to take international students at their word, and less likely to be as trusting of faculty and administrators in US institutions of higher education. In order to address this, I kept my interview questions as open as possible, and checked them and monitored my verbal and nonverbal reactions to all categories of respondents repeatedly with others for evidence of my personal bias exerting itself. My experiences on the Honor Review Board have provided me with some guidance for this, particularly in regards to focusing on the facts or details of each case and bracketing personal thoughts and feelings.

Beyond this, my country of origin and native language mean that my perspective on why academic integrity matters or does not may be significantly

different from the perspectives of the international students whom I spoke with in this study, something which the preceding literature review established. This social distance between participants and myself can have effects on what I perceive, as well as what participants are willing to disclose. As such, I have attempted to question the assumptions I make about the value of academic integrity through a constant process of reflecting on why I may feel strongly about some actions or thoughts and not others during the interview process. I addressed this by keeping field notes and recording my impressions as quickly after interviews as possible, with the idea that I would be able to examine these later to see how my perspectives may be influencing the process I follow, as well as how they may have changed during the course of the study. Beyond this, I attempted to proceed with interviews and participant selection in a way that established me as a co-creator of knowledge rather than a completely disinterested researcher, something which informed the sequence of questions in my interviews as well. In particular, I have attempted to ensure that whatever impressions I feel strongly about are not simply added to the findings but are rather evaluated by participants themselves. I have done this by ensuring that any item I feel to be important but which is not addressed by participants is given less overall importance in my inquiry, and also by ensuring that any item which I find to be salient is included in questions in both follow-up interviews and interviews subsequent to my review of my initial notes and impressions. I did this so that participants could have a say in whether or not they agree with my thoughts. Moreover, I have tried to frame my thoughts in the same way that I framed themes above, which is through brief statements taken from my own notes as though I were a participant. I have done this

in order to ensure that my thoughts are treated in the same way as those of other participants by other participants. Though this process, I have made several important discoveries about my own thoughts and their relation to participant responses, most notably in relation to notions of fairness. As will be described later, my initial expectation to see a great deal of complaint about accusations of unfair treatment was not present in the manner which I expected. Instead, participants reported a far more complicated perspective, one which was both more nuanced in terms of perceptions of responsibility and more simplistic in terms of assumption of guilt.

Data Analysis

My analysis of data was guided by both deductive and inductive approaches, with the entire analysis using Braun and Clarke's (2013) six-step thematic analysis framework as a guide. I will briefly describe the deductive and inductive portions of my data analysis here before outlining Braun and Clarke's framework in a following section. My deductive analysis was guided by the three theories outlined in my theoretical framework. Indeed, these theories led directly to many of the interview questions outlined in Appendix B, as detailed previously. In particular, I examined the various labels that participants themselves used when describing AI and AIVs, as well as the labels they expressed as being used by others around them, then examined responses for the presence of any of the attributional biases listed previously, before finally focusing in on any expressions of confusion or difference arising from culture, whether at the departmental, scholastic, or cultural level. As will be described, several of the questions specifically aimed at cultural capital did not yield usable results,

which meant that the analysis of cultural capital relied heavily on reflection questions and analysis of participant stories of instances of AIVs.

On the inductive and more expansive front, I engaged in a constant thematic analysis of ideas emerging from each interview, identifying commonalities and differences and devising additional questions to address these same in subsequent interviews (including follow-up interviews) (Merriam, 2009; Yin, 2011). This process was guided in several ways. First, throughout the process of data collection, I kept a time-stamped journal of impressions and key ideas which occurred to me, using these to establish initial codes and themes to examine in following interviews (Yin, 2011). This included analytic memos of a longer nature to reflect concepts, ideas, and statements which I felt merited additional attention or analysis.

Beyond this, throughout the entire process of data collection and analysis, I made every effort to ensure that participants themselves had a voice in examining themes and concepts, and also in how I was characterizing their words and ideas. I did this in three main ways: using participant quotations to name initial themes, adding questions to follow-up interviews based on participant statements, and presenting themes to participants for their feedback once I had met with at least one participant from each institution and major included in the study. Finally, I made sure to add a section at the end of each interview for participants themselves to ask any questions of me that they wanted to, especially about why I asked certain questions and perhaps not others.

External and internal validity

As the goal of this study was to examine the particular perceptions of participants regarding AIVs and punishments, there was no attempt to establish or address external validity in this research process. This is in keeping with the established methods of qualitative inquiry, which do not seek to establish objective, universal truth, but rather examine situated and subjective realities as expressed and seen by individuals inside these realities (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Creswell, 2009; Merriam, 2009). Thus, the information which participants provided through this study was treated on its own merits and examined in light of my theoretical framework and the research conditions, rather than through any lens of universality (Yin, 2011). Notably, my goal here was not to generalize or establish generalizability, but rather to examine the perceptions and experiences of the participants in this particular study.

With this said, I did wish to establish a clear set of steps taken in data analysis, which is why I utilized Braun and Clarke's (2013) six-step process as a guide. I did so so that another similar analysis could be undertaken by others. This helps to establish both internal validity and replicability of method. In addition to Braun and Clarke's (2013) six steps, I kept three methods in mind from Yin (2011). The first of these was a comparison of information among individual participants and groups of participants, something which was most useful in comparison of individual interviews and interviews from different institutions and majors. As Yin states, by utilizing multiple sources of information, it is possible to compare and contrast and thus obtain a clearer picture of perceptions of a given social phenomenon or set of phenomena. The second of these is the usage of multiple forms of data, including interviews,

policy documents, administrative data, and emergent sources as they come up. As Creswell (2009), Merriam, (2009), and Yin (2011) state, this process of triangulation allows for another level of comparison and thus clarification of themes surrounding a given social phenomenon or set of phenomena. Finally, I made use of a set of follow-up interviews in which I presented the themes and findings I had established to most of the participants and invited their input. This comparison allowed for member checks and for the development of additional themes and coding categories in light of established information, thus allowing for a more meaningful and embedded set of understandings of data (Yin, 2011).

Thematic Analysis

In both structuring the interview schedule and analyzing data, I began with a general qualitative process, but very quickly pivoted to using the thematic analysis process outlined by Braun and Clarke (2013) as a more rigorous and useful standard for examining qualitative data. While Merriam (2009) allows for a general set of steps to outline all general qualitative research, and indeed advocates for the same in cases where there is a desire to align with a popular qualitative model in order to establish perceived theoretical validity to a study, this does not allow for a good general model of data collection and analysis that is grounded by theory and application. As such, I found my actual data analysis and review guided most prominently by Braun and Clarke's (2013) six-step process of establishing themes in qualitative research. Braun and Clarke (2013) describe this process as both more specific and adaptable methodologically and more useful practically than many other methods which tend to

be generally used, such as case studies (Merriam, 2009; Yin, 2011). The advantages of this method of analysis are that it does contain specific steps and a clear audit trail that can be analyzed in subsequent studies, and that it provides a clear framework for data analysis where many ambiguities will occur in the data. The aforementioned six steps are presented below in Table 4. One key feature of this process is that it eliminates the prevalent dictum of a great deal of qualitative research, which is that themes emerge (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Instead, in this process, themes are established through an interaction between the researcher and the participants and the environment in which the interaction and the event have taken place (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Table 4: Stages of Thematic Analysis

Phase	Process
Phase 1	Read and re-read data in order to become familiar with what the data entails, paying specific attention to patterns that occur.
Phase 2	Generate the initial codes by documenting where and how patterns occur. This happens through data reduction where the researcher collapses data into labels in order to create categories for more efficient analysis. Data complication is also completed here. This involves the researcher making inferences about what the codes mean.
Phase 3	Combine codes into overarching themes that accurately depict the data. It is important in developing themes that the researcher describes exactly what the themes mean, even if the theme does not seem to "fit". The researcher should also describe what is missing from the analysis.
Phase 4	In this stage, the researcher looks at how the themes support the data and the overarching theoretical perspective. If the analysis seems incomplete, the researcher needs to go back and find what is missing.
Phase 5	The researcher needs to define what each theme is, which aspects of data are being captured, and what is interesting about the themes.
Phase 6	When the researchers write the report, they must decide which themes make meaningful contributions to understanding what is going on within the data. Researchers should also conduct “member checks.” This is where the researchers go back to the sample at hand to see if their description is an accurate representation.

(Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 87)

Following the above, I began by taking my notes from interviews and using them for comparison while I read and re-read the transcriptions of each interview. It is important to note that owing to the timespan of my interviews, this step took place on a periodic basis, since first interviews for some participants took place after follow-up interviews for others. As such, this step involved elements of step six as well, since I engaged in member checking throughout the process. This also involved elements of step 4, since I engaged with the theoretical frameworks specified in the creation of follow-up questions and the analysis of participant responses. In all, though, I strove to keep my initial codes present at this stage, including in-situ notes made during interviews, notes made immediately after interviews in my impressions, notes made during analytical memos, and notes made after reading and reviewing all of these previous.

I combined these initial codes based on similarities in codes that I perceived and based on examining initial themes against participant statements and trying to find unifying themes and areas. By doing this, I reduced total codes greatly, with several codes having qualifiers after them for greater specificity. As an example of this, one persistent code was "no one talks about AIVs," but this was qualified in individual cases with a secondary code noting who was presented as not speaking about AIVs, with a major focus on professors/teachers and teaching assistants (TAs).

In reviewing these codes and my ongoing analytic memos, I drafted an initial list of potential themes grouping sets of codes together. In doing this, I tried to find participant statements that tied together multiple codes which I could also work into follow-up interviews. Examples of this include the statements "snitches get stitches"

and “if you were accused, you’re probably guilty” to identify themes of levels of responsibility for AIVs and attributions based on labels of so-called “cheaters.” Most notable at this stage was the fact that participants tended to speak very frequently about teaching assistants and their relationships with professors, students, and one another, as well as administrators, which represented a new area to examine in terms of relative roles in higher education. I continued with follow-up interviews at this stage to check on initial themes and participant perceptions of them, which fed into my subsequent refinement of themes.

Once I had revised my list of themes and completed all follow-up interviews, I examined the list again against my theoretical framework, using it as a tool to further sort themes together, and then considered responses in light of my research questions. This led me to create three overarching themes, inside of which several subthemes demonstrate multiple aspects of each theme in question. These will be elaborated in the results section, which represents Braun and Clarke’s final step in the process.

Ethical Considerations

As already mentioned, the topic of academic integrity is contentious, and it is not without a risk of harm to participants in this study. I maintained anonymity of all participants in several ways, as allowing even suspicion of identity of particular persons could result in academic penalties or perhaps job loss for participants. All participants are referred to using pseudonyms. Beyond this, all institutions are referred to using pseudonyms only. As far as data storage is concerned, interviews were audio recorded digitally, with all files residing on my personal, password-

protected computer, with a backup copy on an encrypted and password protected external hard drive. All files are kept anonymous based on a random number associated with each participant. Only I have access to the files, which I maintain on an encrypted hard drive. All other files -- specifically, all publicly available documents and policies -- are also be kept on the same computer, and as mentioned above, are not be referred to using actual school names but rather pseudonyms.

All participants in this study were given a clear description of the purpose and scope of the study (see Appendix A), and all provided their informed consent prior to interviews taking place. This description established that all information provided by participants would be kept anonymous, and that every effort would be made to ensure that their identities are protected from voluntary and involuntary disclosure. I made it clear that I would not inform any honor council or board about any information disclosed in the course of the study. I also made it clear that themes established from interviews and analysis of documents would be used to refine questions and create topics for future interviews with other students, but that at no point would any mention be made of any specific person or statement made by any participant to any other participant.

Chapter 5: Descriptions of institutions and participants

Introduction to institutions

Students interviewed all attended one of the following three institutions, all of which are located in the same large metropolitan area in the mid-Atlantic region of the US. The institutions were themselves selected prior to participant recruitment. This was due to a desire to establish a means of triangulation, as outlined in my methodology section. All three institutions have similar international student populations, all three have large business and computer science departments, and all three have similar admission requirements. In particular, institutions were chosen not only for their geographical and cultural proximity, but also for their connections. Owing to an agreement among institutions in this geographical region, it is possible for students admitted to one institution to take classes at any other member institution, provided a student obtains permission to do so, with financial aid transferring among institutions based on home institution rates in most cases. Beyond this, though, institutions were chosen in order to establish common points of comparison along with disparities in institutional characteristics. These include overall percentage of international students at the institution, overall presence of international students in the majors chosen at the national level in the US, English language requirements of each institution, presence of conditional admission, and characteristics of business and computer science departments. While the reasoning for selecting business and computer science as majors of focus has already been specified, this section will provide additional detail about the other points of comparison listed above.

Of particular note here is how percentages of international student attendance are determined, and by whom (Flores & Drake, 2014). Most typically, percentages of international students as part of the student body are established by examining what portion of students are attending on a particular visa type, specifically F1 or J1 most commonly (Flores & Drake, 2014). As becomes clear through the stories of participants here, though, some students come to their schooling in the US on a first-time visa, while others come to their schooling after first having extensive experience in the country prior to becoming a student. For the purposes of this study, all participants were included based on their visa status, meaning that all included participants were on a non-immigrant visa. All participants in this study were on an F1 visa at the time of their first interview. Even with this specification, though, it is clear that some students came directly to the US for their undergraduate education, while others simply continued their secondary education into tertiary education, meaning that the label of "international student" can be quite misleading. Indeed, some participants mentioned this, noting that despite not having citizenship or permanent resident status, they felt more comfortable in the US than in their countries of origin.

Language proficiency in the form of required test scores was also used as a criterion for selecting institutions. This is due to the fact that there is a wide variety of requirements for English proficiency among different institutions (Read, 2015). For example, the most commonly used examination of English proficiency, the TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language), has a maximum score of 120 on the IBT or internet-based test (ETS, 2021a). A score of 120 is taken to equate to advanced

mastery of academic English, while a score of 60 would indicate low intermediate proficiency in academic English (ETS, 2021b). However, the actual TOEFL score required for admission ranges very widely among institutions. To put this into perspective, admission to Arizona State University as an undergraduate requires a score of 61 on the TOEFL IBT (Arizona State University, 2021), whereas admission to Northern Arizona University as an undergraduate requires a score of 70 (Northern Arizona University, 2021) and admission to Columbia University as an undergraduate requires a score of at least 100 (Columbia University, 2021). As the above indicates, this means that comparing students from different institutions could mean comparing students with very different proficiencies in English.

In order to avoid this, I chose only institutions with similar English testing requirements for proficiency. This meant matching TOEFL scores, as well as the other most common English proficiency exams for university admission, the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) and Duolingo. IELTS is a common English language assessment used throughout Europe and the Middle East, while Duolingo is a new language assessment created by the popular language learning app, one which is much cheaper and accessible than either the TOEFL or IELTS (Read, 2015; Wagner, 2020). However, ensuring similarity also meant matching other ways of meeting English language proficiency requirements. While testing is the most common way of establishing language proficiency, many schools allow for alternative methods as well (Read, 2015). These include completing a course of English language study prior to full acceptance to the university, known as conditional admission (Adebayo, 2008), as well as completion of high school or an

associate degree in a designated English-speaking country, and also completion of an International Baccalaureate high school diploma through the medium of English (Read, 2015). Beyond this, some universities allow for individual waivers of English proficiency tests based on individual circumstances, including completion of English composition courses at a US-based university or community college (Flores & Drake, 2014; Read, 2015).

Because of this, I endeavored to make sure that not only testing, but also alternative language proficiency measures were similar across institutions. I have outlined institutional policies and procedures in descriptions of each institution below and have made sure to include a description of how individual participants addressed English proficiency requirements in the accounts of each individual participant in the study, as there are a variety of different cases of how English language proficiency was established and how that contributed to individual participant experiences. Participants came into their respective universities through multiple means, including completion of high school in a designated English-speaking country (US, Canada, Singapore), a sufficiently high score on the TOEFL (no participant used either the IELTS or Duolingo), and completion of supplementary English courses prior to and/or concurrent with credit-bearing courses.

Below are the profiles of each institution that participants attended. The institutions have been assigned pseudonyms and any information that could be used to identify them has been redacted.

East Atlantic University (EAU)

East Atlantic University (EAU) is a private university, designated R1 under the Carnegie classification system. It has a student body of more than 30,000, of whom 10% are international. The business department's student body is roughly 9 times larger than the computer science (CS) department, though each has an international student population of nearly half. For admission as an international student, EAU requires a TOEFL score of 90, and a 6.5 on IELTS. It is set to use Duolingo test scores soon as well, although what the requirements will be is not clear at the time of writing. EAU also requires additional English language training for any international student who comes to the school with a TOEFL score of less than 100 or 7 on IELTS, which involves taking non-credit bearing language and culture classes to be completed before the beginning of the actual program of study. However, it should be noted that there is some flexibility with this "requirement," such that students might be able to complete these classes concurrently with credit-bearing classes with approval from an advisor. Beyond this, regardless of TOEFL or IELTS score, international students can avoid the additional English language training if they have graduated from high school in a designated English-speaking country or if they have completed college level composition courses in the US. There is also the possibility of applying for an exemption on individual grounds. Beyond this, conditional admission is also allowed, although the conditions of this can vary substantially based on English language ability, high school GPA, and other conditions not specified in publicly available materials, all of which are evaluated by the central admissions

committee rather than individual schools or departments. Of note is the fact that the endowment of EAU is larger than that of the other two universities combined.

EAU has a standard code of academic integrity for all students. The code is overseen and administered by a central Office of Academic Integrity which addresses all allegations of AIVs for all colleges and schools. Any allegation of an AIV must be presented to the Office of Academic Integrity, and an investigation must take place. Of note in regards to EAU is the fact that at the time of this study, there was already a revision to policy taking place on the prescribed five-year cycle specified in the code of academic integrity, something which participant Yang Li was involved in and spoke of in his interviews; however, this revision did not take place until well after the interviews and follow-up interviews actually took place. One major piece of this revision was a change to the policy of centralization of adjudication of allegations of AIVs, such that professors and instructors could come to a resolution for AIVs and then simply report the outcome to the central Office of Academic Integrity.

EAU allows for both individual and panel adjudications of alleged AIVs. All investigations begin through the central office, which then meets with students to determine whether or not a further investigation is warranted. If a student admits responsibility, the case is determined by the investigator, including appropriate sanction. However, in the case of a contested situation, a panel is put together, including students, faculty, and staff, which will adjudicate the alleged AIV based on a preponderance of evidence (Loschiavo & Waller, 2015). There is no single standard sanction for all violations at EAU, though there is a recommendation that a first-time violation of a lesser stature should accrue a failing grade on the assignment in

question, and a repeat violation or a violation of a greater stature should accrue a failing grade in the course in question and a mark on the transcript which shows that the failure is due to an AIV. Decisions made by a panel are binding and cannot be appealed by a student except for cases of extreme misconduct.

As mentioned above, while there is no standard punishment of an AIV, the recommended punishment is a failing grade on an assignment for a first time or lesser violation, and a failing grade in the course and a notation of failing due to an AIV on multiple or more serious violations of the code of academic integrity. At EAU, the notation of failure due to an AIV can be removed based on a student petition after two years, regardless of participation in a supplemental academic integrity seminar. However, for more serious AIVs, the notation for failure due to an AIV can take up to three years to be removed, but again, this is regardless of participation in a supplemental academic integrity seminar. One interesting aspect of the policy of EAU is that following to complete a sanction based on the code of academic integrity is also considered an AIV under the code. As such, failure to follow through on a sanction can result in the same penalties as an additional AIV.

There are six violations of academic integrity specified in the code of academic integrity, five of which are part of the Bowers framework and one of which – the aforementioned failure to complete sanctions – is not part of the framework. The code also specifies in detail how it is the student's responsibility to learn and live the code of academic integrity, noting how students must make sure to ask professors and instructors about their specific rules of academic integrity, but not noting any responsibility of instructors to specify their rules of academic integrity.

North Atlantic University (NAU)

North Atlantic University (NAU) is a private university, classified as R2 under the Carnegie classification system. It is roughly half as large as EAU by student enrollment and has a larger overall international student population by proportion, with 16% of all undergraduates being international. Admission requirements for international students are 85 on the TOEFL and 6.5 on the IELTS, but these are specified as minimums, with recommendations of scores at or above 90 on the TOEFL and 7 on the IELTS as ideal. DuoLingo scores are also accepted, with a minimum score of 115 specified. English language and culture classes are required for any international student who is deemed to be in need due to low English language ability scores, though these can be avoided by graduating from high school in a designated English-speaking country or by completing an IB high school through the medium of English. Additionally, conditional admission is allowed based on previous GPA and English language ability as demonstrated on either a standardized test or through evidence provided through individual petition submitted by the applicant. Language and culture classes can be taken concurrently with actual credit bearing classes, though students are limited in how many credit bearing courses they take before completing their language and culture courses. At NAU, the business department is approximately three times as large as the CS department by total (undergraduate and graduate) student population.

Alone among the institutions here, NAU has no central office which deals with AIVs. Instead, all AIVs are required to be addressed through the dean of the

school or department in which the supposed AIV has taken place. The expectation under the institution's code of academic integrity is that any suspicion of an AIV must be reported the dean's office for the pertinent department in which the AIV supposedly took place.

In each case at NAU, the dean's office is expected to either elect a representative or ensure that the dean deal with the allegation. The code of academic integrity specifies that the dean may also allow a panel to be created to adjudicate allegations of AIVs when there is contention of the specifics of an alleged AIV; however, this panel is considered to be solely advisory and, as such, the dean can choose to ignore or follow the recommendations of the panel. In the case of a highly contested decision by a dean, the code specifies that the provost may exercise final authority over determinations of responsibility and punishments.

The standard punishment for an AIV specified by the code is failure of the course in which the AIV has occurred and a mark on the transcript specifying that the failure is due to an AIV. This mark cannot be removed from the transcript and will remain permanently. It is notable in this code that all alleged violations of academic integrity are to be treated as very problematic and detrimental to the overall academic environment.

There are nine types of violations of academic integrity specified in the code, all of which are specified in the Bowers framework except for a category which indicates that it represents all actions which, while not specified in the framework, are perceived by an instructor or the overall institution to be violations of academic integrity. Beyond this, there is a category of violations which specifically addresses

bribery, favors, and threats, which is a relatively uncommon category among codes of academic integrity (ICAI, 2014; McGrail & McGrail, 2015).

Public State University (PSU)

Public State University (PSU) is a public institution, designated R1 on the Carnegie system, located in the same metropolitan area as both NAU and EAU. Its endowment is approximately the same as NAU, a little less than half that of EAU. Similar to both of the preceding institutions, it allows conditional admission based on high school GPA and overall English language ability. In fact, any student who is not able to meet the minimum requirements of either 95 on the TOEFL, 7 on the IELTS, or 120 on Duolingo is required to take supplemental English language classes prior to full admission to classes. It is possible to be exempted from supplemental English language classes by completing high school in the US or a designated English-speaking country. PSU has a student body similar to EAU, more than 30,000 undergraduates, with slightly more graduate students, and a total of 13% international students. There is a notable difference in international student enrollment in the majors selected here based on graduate versus undergraduate status.

While the overall enrollment of international students is roughly the same for each major, fully 90% of all business majors are at the graduate level, with only 10% at the undergraduate level. In contrast, approximately 55% of all CS majors are at the graduate level, with 45% at the undergraduate level. In total numbers, this means that there are four times as many undergraduate CS majors as business majors.

PSU has a standard code of academic integrity for all students. This code is overseen and adjudicated by a central office which investigates all reported allegations of AIVs. When a suspicion of an AIV is brought to the attention of this office, an initial investigation has to take place. It is important to note here that it does not matter where the allegation comes from for an investigation to be initiated; indeed, the website for this central office encourages all community members to report incidents of AIVs, something also encouraged by the code of academic integrity. This code stipulates a standard punishment for any incident of an AIV of a failing grade in the class in which the AIV took place, along with a mark on the transcript showing that the failing grade occurred due to an AIV. However, the code also specifies that the mark on the transcript denoting failure for an AIV can be removed provided that the student completes a supplementary course on ethics and academic integrity and petitions to have the mark removed.

AIVs are adjudicated in two ways through the central office. The first is that an official from the central office meets with the student and investigates the allegation, and afterwards issues a judgment regarding the allegation. This happens in straightforward cases in which there is no conflicting information regarding the allegation and in which all parties are in general agreement about what has happened. The second is that a panel of students, faculty, and staff members of the university will convene to examine a contested or complicated case of an alleged AIV. In this second case, there are circumstances or information that is conflicting among parties to the AIV, and this will bring about a hearing in which the student can defend her/himself and in which evidence and testimony can be presented. The panel will

hear testimony and examine evidence, as well as question witnesses. At the end of this examination, the panel will issue its ruling, which is considered binding. All rulings are based on the standard of a preponderance of evidence (Loschiavo & Waller, 2015).

The code of academic integrity at PSU specifies five types of violations, all of which are present on the Bowers framework. The code specifies that it is the responsibility of students to learn the code and ensure that they are not violating it, and that it is not the responsibility of any other entity or person to make sure that students know and understand the code.

Introduction to participants

All participants are given pseudonyms below. I have followed participant preferences in how much of their own words are presented, relying on participant words whenever possible and paraphrasing whenever participants have requested to have their exact words not shown, as well as altering participant words as requested to limit the possibility of identification of individual students. I have identified which participants I was able to speak with for follow-up interviews in the beginning of each profile, along with any changes in circumstances between when we spoke first and afterwards. I have ensured that participant preferences have been followed in presentation of their personal details, with possible identifying features altered or removed, based on participant preference. The participants are presented in order of their major, beginning with business majors.

Business majors

Wang Mei (China, Business, EAU)

At the time of our interviews, Wang Mei was currently studying business at EAU; however, this was not her first major. When she first came to the US, she tried two other majors-accounting and a liberal arts discipline which she did not wish to be disclosed- and was thinking about whether she will continue with business when we spoke.

> When asked what she thinks of as academic integrity, she stated that
>
> the first word that comes to mind is plagiarism, and also citing sources properly – like MLA, APA. It's all about giving proper credit. So, I think a violation, like, it's not giving proper credit. It's like taking something that isn't yours, and you say it's yours.

She spoke at great length about how, in most cases, maintaining academic integrity really just means following the rules, and was very clear about how few professors and administrators actually provide a clear overview of these rules. She spoke about how the only real tutelage she received about AI came from a one-and-a-half-hour special lesson provided by a librarian. She stated that she felt that professors seemed to not want to bother to talk to students about AI, mentioning that for both professors and students, "discussion time is precious and they would rather spend it on things that matter." When asked about how familiar she is with the code of conduct at East Atlantic, she reported that she was not really familiar with it, other than where to locate the code. She also explained that if it was necessary to learn more, she would most likely Google it, and that she is more likely to rely on Purdue

University's OWL (Online Writing Lab)[3] as a better source of information related to academic integrity and writing. She reported that because she had a high score on her TOEFL exam, she was not required to take any supplemental English for Academic Purposes courses.

Mei spoke about how much previous experience she had with academic integrity issues in high school in China and also in college here in the US. She noted that she had previously engaged in cheating behaviors in high school and early in her academic career in the US, particularly cheating on tests and homework. However, she was very clear that she was not breaking any rules since changing majors. She reported a time during her freshman year when she engaged the services of a contract cheating company to write an essay for her, but on seeing the finished product, she was shocked at how low the quality was, leading her to not see any value in even trying to use such a service again. Regarding her high school experiences, she reported feeling that the only problem with cheating was getting caught. She explained that even when caught, cheating was something that could be dealt with through social networks or even outright bribery, mentioning cases where fellow students had their parents utilize social connections to make cheating accusations go away, or alternately, had their parents pay teachers for the same purpose.

She spoke about her admiration for the more hardline approach to academic integrity in US universities, since it means that credentials here are more trustworthy than in places where rules are lax or unenforced. She reported that she knows a

[3] The OWL is a very frequently utilized site to provide information about citations and formatting (El Meysarah, 2018). Recently, the site was acquired by the site Chegg.com, a common contract cheating site which allows students to outsource their coursework (Lowry, 2020).

person in China who is in the process of completing an advanced degree without doing any of the work personally, and that knowing this made her feel like an advanced degree from the institution in question was cheapened and not trustworthy as an indication of knowledge. However, during out second interview, Mei reported that she felt that during the remote learning necessitated by the COVID pandemic, she had begun to feel that standards were slipping at EAU as well:

> You're supposed to do your own work in the US, and that's one big reason why I wanted to study here, because back in China I know so many people who just get their degree and they do nothing. So their degree means nothing. But I know that here, your degree is supposed to mean something, you know, you learned, you studied, you did the work. (…) But I have seen so many people just pay for their papers, and now because everything is online, I even see my roommate is cheating on her exams. So I feel like now it doesn't matter, like I am still gonna work hard, because I am still here to learn, but now a degree doesn't mean that everyone else is doing the work. Like, you get your A+, so okay, but you didn't, you don't deserve it.

Mei said that she had never seen anyone punished for cheating who did not deserve it, stating that she had observed dozens of students being punished for cheating. She elaborated on this by saying that she routinely sees students around her cheating in various ways, particularly when it comes to writing papers and getting the answers to tests, but that the majority of these instances are not detected, stating that "yeah, definitely, if you get accused, it's probably because you have been doing it a long time and you finally get caught this time. You aren't, like, it's not your first

time. This is for frequent fliers." She also reported that when detected, the consequences were inconsistent, saying the following:

> it really depends on the professor, the class, the cheating, like everything! OK, so, I know it's usually you get an F on the assignment, or like a zero on the assignment, but sometimes you get an F in the class. But it's not like it's always the same, because sometimes I know professors just ignore cheating, but sometimes they are really eager for, to like punish students. But almost everyone I know just got an F on the assignment. (Interviewer: Did you ever see anyone receive a worse punishment?) No, no one that I know ever got kicked out. (Interviewer: Kicked out?) Yeah, like kicked out of university. I never saw that.

When asked if she ever feels the need to report such things, she stated that it is not her business to do so. Ultimately, she said that she believes that "society will teach them later," and that the only time to report would be if not doing so would actively harm her or someone else, either through incurring a false accusation of cheating, or if threatening or coercion is taking place. She reported feeling like this is a common attitude among students and faculty at EAU; she related that people around her – professors and students – would rather not discuss issues than deal with them directly. She noted that "issues like cheating are like family problems – you don't want to talk about them." She also reported that she feels that it is better not to punish every instance of cheating, but rather to ensure that students are actually familiar with the code of conduct and to deal with each case on its own merits.

However, Mei also reported one instance in which a professor indirectly accused her of an AIV. Mei reported that one of her professors questioned her repeatedly about a paper she had submitted, and that it had felt as though the professor could not accept that Mei had written the paper:

> It was like she (the professor) just didn't believe I was the author, because she just kept asking me about, why did you write this, and what does this word mean, and I answered all her questions, but I think she was thinking she was going to trick me. So I think it's really hard sometimes, like professors don't believe it when I write a good paper.

When asked about how she feels her perspectives on academic integrity have changed over the course of her four years in the US, she reported that overall, her perspective remained the same. She stated that she continues to believe in trying to do her best and in trying to follow the rules. She reported that her understanding of the more specific rules had changed, particularly with regards to citations and proper attribution, but that overall, little had changed in her perspective.

When asked about what she would like to say to the professors and administration about academic integrity at EAU, she reported that it was important to treat students more like blank pieces of paper when it comes to academic integrity, noting the following:

> it's not about you giving us, like a PowerPoint or a piece of paper to read, and say 'oh this is what you should know.' You [i.e., the professor or administrator] should wait for us to give you feedback or paraphrase everything to make sure that we know the thing you want us to know.

Li Ming (China, Business, EAU)

Li Ming is a business major at EAU, though she is currently examining whether or not she wishes to continue there. When we first spoke, she was in the US, but at the time of our final interview, she was back in China and thinking about pursuing a different major at a different school. Ming has participated in many extracurricular activities at EAU, including several clubs and student government activities, but at the time of our final interview, she did not feel like the school is the best fit for her. Similar to Mei, she reported that owing to her TOEFL score, she never took any supplemental English for Academic Purposes courses at EAU.

Her definition of academic integrity echoes that of Mei, in that she stated that academic integrity is "following the rules and principles you need to in school." Notably, though, she said that when it comes to a violation of academic integrity, it "doesn't matter if you mean to break the rules or not. It's just about breaking the rules." She reported that she never really received any information about the honor code or academic integrity at an orientation or through any kind of direct teaching from a professor or TA. She stated that the only times that people talk about AI are during the reading of a syllabus and immediately prior to a test.

Ming explained that she has not really ever engaged in any cheating in the US, but that she did back in China prior to graduating from upper secondary school (or "high school" as she referred to it) and coming to the US. She noted that in China some teachers, particularly in elementary and middle schools, were more supportive of cheating if it meant that students would be seen to have good scores on tests. She was careful to couch this by saying that

> I'm not saying we're encouraged to cheat, definitely not, but um, but like, you know teachers will not… um we don't… sometimes teachers just… oh just kind of like let it go. I'm not saying our education is bad… we just cheated a lot in elementary and middle schools.

When thinking about her time at EAU, Ming reported that she generally does not break any academic integrity rules, but that

> people are asking me to join a group chat where, like, they're just showing the answers [on homework assignments and projects] or, you know, like, can we just uh check the answers… you know we'll all pay some money and then we'll all share them something like that… like um usually I'll decline that because I'm confident with my study and I get good grades on tests… yeah and I think operating with others… you know it's not beneficial to me because I'm a better student than them.

Ming reported that she understands why students ask her to help in cheating, but that she also does not feel like it is her place to report on this to anyone. She commented that it is a student's individual choice to cheat or not, and that it is not her place to get involved unless it directly affects her personally, which she explained to mean someone trying to steal her work or force her to share her answers on an assignment. Beyond this, she stated that she understands why students would want her help, since she feels that they "want to get good grades, pass their classes, and have good opportunities for internships." However, it is "not her problem if others wish to get help in cheating – it's their choice." It is interesting to note here, though, that she has also acknowledged working with other students in several situations

where group work was not permitted, particularly on homework assignments and preparation for quizzes; however, in these cases, she stated that she was not cheating, but that rather, the rules were unclear and she was not actually violating any actual rules.

Ming said that it is not her place to report on someone else's violation of academic integrity, stating that she "doesn't care what other people do – it's not about me." However, she noted that this depends on the relationship between students, stating that there is a possibility of one student compelling another to help in cheating based on their personal connections. She reported that close friends "can make each other help because they know what each other has done, and they know each other's secrets." This tends to imply that a person might be coerced into helping someone else cheat based on the threat of revealed secrets, or that there can be a perceived obligation to help another person engage in AIVs owing to social connections.

Ming reported that she has never seen someone be falsely accused of cheating, stating that everyone she has seen punished has definitely deserved such punishment. She noted that she feels like punishment for an AIV depends on whether or not the AIV was detected, saying that "yeah… If they get caught, they get punished; so if they don't get caught, then obviously no punishment, right yeah."

Ming reported that she has not read any policies regarding AIVs, but she also reported that she feels like such policies were never made clear to her. She reported that universities in the US should put more effort in actually teaching about expectations of AI, rather than just expecting students to learn about it on their own. However, she also stated that she does not feel like it is necessary for her to learn the

standards of East Atlantic, since she is "an honest person." She noted that her family spoke to her at length before arriving in the US about how academic integrity is a very important thing in the US, and how she "will need to be careful and make sure to not cheat." She reported that the warning from her family seemed to be a caution against doing what she had been familiar with in China, though they did not specifically say this, just issuing a warning against cheating in the US.

She indicated that she has seen many, many examples of cheating behaviors at EAU, particularly involving students checking answers or notes during tests, using either their phones or paper notes that are hidden. She commented that such cheating occurred particularly in math courses and other gateway courses – that is, courses that must be passed with a certain grade in order to ensure continuance in the business major. She reported that this stood in stark contrast to her classes in China, where she once saw a student cheat on a low-level Chinese literature course, and thought "why would they do that? The class doesn't even matter. Why would you cheat there? It's not important enough." In this case, she reported that the student received a warning, but no punishment, and other students mocked the student who had cheated.

Ming explained that she never saw anyone punished for cheating who did not deserve it, stating that she believed that anyone who was punished had likely cheated and thus deserved some sort of punishment. In addition to this, though, she reported that she has had extensive confusion about citation formats in her various classes, and that she has definitely engaged in copy and pasting for various writing assignments, but this same was not detected. She reported that she feels that her actions, while not

good, were acceptable "because no one found out about them and because they were just for small assignments."

Ming shared that she feels like the policy surrounding AIVs at EAU is fair because cheating is common sense. However, as noted above, she reported that she has never actually read the policy. She reported that her ideas are based on her idea that she has remained moral and consistent in her actions, while some others have not. She reported that this has guided her ideas about whether or not to report it when she sees other people engaging in what she considers to be cheating behaviors.

When asked what she would like to say to administrators and professors at EAU, she stated the following:

> I would say don't just put the academic integrity policy in the syllabus, or just like a stupid online quiz, because I never paid attention to the syllabus, and the quiz is just so easy. I mean, I never study, it's just multiple choice so I can probably guess and then I can pass. Maybe if they think it's important, they can send us an email at the start of each semester, because they already do that for the alcohol policy. But they only did it once for academic integrity, like right when I arrived. (…) Like maybe, instead of terrible long videos with really bad actors, we could role play, like students can role play how they should deal with situations. Because I think most students are like me, because I never read the policy and I never pay attention because I think since I don't cheat, I don't need to, so it has to be something that someone like me will pay attention.

Liu Yan (China, Business, EAU)

Yan was studying a field related to business[4] at the graduate level at EAU at the time of our interview, where she recently completed a business degree as an undergraduate. Yan reported that because she came directly into EAU from China without a high TOEFL score, she was required to take a set of English for Academic Purposes (EAP) courses before she could actually enroll in credit-bearing classes. At the time of our interview, she was working as a graduate assistant in an office that serves the general undergraduate population of EAU. And as part of this work, she interacts with undergraduates on a daily basis, and reported that she feels very connected to the undergraduate population still. During the interview I asked Yan mainly about her own experiences as an undergraduate, but at times she also shared things that she had observed among undergraduates once she became a graduate assistant.

Yan reported that she feels that she has a good understanding of the rules for academic integrity at EAU; however, on closer questioning, she reported that she really just thought that she understood the basic rules of academic integrity. Additionally, she reported that she knows exactly where to find more information about the rules surrounding integrity if and when she needs to. She indicated that she had received considerable information about academic integrity as part of her English language training prior to taking credit-bearing classes at EAU as well as through coursework with a professor who she described as very encouraging regarding research, writing, and publication. With regard to this professor, she commented that

[4] Yan said that she preferred to refer to her program of study using this wording.

the way the professor talked about these rules was "friendly" and "comforting." Similar to several other participants, her main conception of academic integrity revolved around plagiarism and its avoidance, with a particular emphasis on proper attribution of sources and the idea of proper paraphrasing versus copying. However, Yan reported a different feeling as it pertains to citing sources, stating the following:

> I learned (at EAU) that it's not about being scared, it's about giving credit and making a community. (Interviewer: Could you tell me more about that?) Yeah, sure. So, I was always scared about not doing the right citation, and so I tried to avoid citations, like I said before. But here, it's like the citation is to show where you get your information, and it's to help everyone else find information too. So, it's like you are trying to help everyone else, and when they are doing citations, they're trying to help you too. So, it's like you are making a community.

However, she reported several experiences observing other students being accused of violations of academic integrity during her time at EAU, with two that she felt were important to mention. The first of these came from her time in the EAP class she took, when a fellow student had paraphrased an article that she had read, but not to the professor's liking. The professor saw this, told the student that she had made a large mistake by not citing the source, and then proceeded to pause everything that the class was doing to show everyone the mistake the student in question had made. Yan reported that the professor went on with this for more than ten minutes, asking the student why she had felt that it was not necessary to appropriately cite the article that she had been paraphrasing, and finally making sure that the student herself had

shown the rest of the class what an appropriate paraphrasing and citation of the article used would be. Yan commented that although she felt that this was not a clear case of a professor calling out a violation of academic integrity, she still felt like the professor had been punishing the student in question, and that everyone in the class had felt very uncomfortable about the situation. Yan indicated that she did not speak with the student in question anymore after this incident, but she did say that the student did not talk very much in class after this. I shared with Yan the old Chinese expression, which Wang Mei had mentioned in her interview – "killing the chicken in order to scare the monkey," where an authority figure will punish a lesser violation harshly in order to deter future large violations. Yan stated that what she had observed represented an example of this, saying that she thought the experience had taught her how important academic integrity is in the US.

Yan also commented on a situation she had recently encountered in her office in which an undergraduate student had come in looking for assistance. The student in question had been reported by an instructor to the Office of Student Conduct as having cheated. However, upon investigation of the student's story, it became clear that what had happened was that a professor had specifically informed everyone in the class that she would not accept accommodations for documented disabilities or individualized education plans, regardless of any documentation that students had. The professor in question was quite outspoken about this and had stressed that any student claiming accommodation for extra test time or anything else would be denied and also reported as cheating. This was exactly what had happened to the student, according to Yan. Yan told me that the office she works in had done everything in its

power to reverse the decision, but also reported that the professor in question had tenure and would not receive any punishment or notation for the incident. When I asked her if she knew the final outcome of this case, she stated that to her knowledge, the decision was not reversed, but that she was not entirely sure about this.

Yan reported that she felt that, in general, the way EAU deals with academic integrity is fair and good, stating that based on what she had learned, academic integrity is a tool that helps scholars to make sure that their work is acknowledged and counted. However, she also reported that she would like to see more professors present academic integrity in this light, rather than the way she saw most commonly, which focused on punishment and fear. She stated that she felt like most professors either ignored violations of academic integrity or felt like it was something that should be punishment, rather than an issue of making information clear for everyone. She reported that she would like to tell all administrators and faculty that the best thing to do would be to show students how academic integrity helps everyone, and to model it in their classes.

Yang Li (China, Business, EAU)

Yang is a business major at EAU who has been very dedicated to campus life and participation, despite the fact that, at the time of our interviews, he had not been able to be physically present at EAU since his acceptance as a student. He has been participating in classes through Zoom, as everyone has. He reported that he had completed his high school education in Canada, and that he had greatly appreciated the opportunity to learn in person there, particularly in regards to the small items which would not be covered as part of an official curriculum in any given class.

That he was not on campus (or even in the US) has not let this stop him from participating in extracurricular and student government activities. He reported that his experiences in student government have helped him to feel more connected to EAU. However, he noted that he still does not have a good sense of community with other students, since he has been stuck at home in China and has been forced to deal with synchronous classes at odd times of night and day. This has led him to feel like the student government activities that he participates in are detached from his own experience; nevertheless, he reported that he feels strongly about the value of his work in these activities, particularly in regards to advocacy of students who may suffer from the conditions that remote learning have forced on them. In particular, he noted how he was part of the ongoing review of the academic integrity policy, and how he was part of a group of student advisors who were paying close attention to how existing policies tended to disadvantage students with disabilities. He expressed a strong desire to promote policies that allowed students with disabilities to not be penalized by existing structures, which he stated tended to advantage "able-bodied students who have computers and internet access and no problems with lockdown browsers and cameras." Yang noted that prior to his work in student government, he had not even considered reading the code of academic integrity, stating that he "only read the code when I had to. It's kinda my job, so I had to." Elaborating on this, he stated that "I just thought, be honest and don't cheat and it will be okay. But I learned a lot from learning about the code, because I saw that, really, it's not fair."

Yang was, at the time of our interviews, in an indeterminate state of visa, as he was not present in the US, but was still actively participating in education at EAU.

He did not speak much about this, choosing instead to focus on the good that he could accomplish through his student government work. He reported that he felt strange being so disconnected from his fellow students, yet also so connected through his work with the review of the code of student conduct which has to take place at regular intervals according to EAU regulations.

When asked about what he considered academic integrity to be, Yang spoke of "not cheating, not plagiarizing, and basically, like, not using someone else's work and saying it's your work." When I asked him what he thought cheating was, he responded that it was "basically just like I said, you know, using someone else's work, or doing something you know you aren't supposed to do." He spoke of how this did not necessarily match the rules for academic integrity at EAU, noting that the rules defining cheating seem biased to him in favor of students who were able-bodied and already fully aware of standards of academic integrity prior to beginning higher education, particularly in light of COVID restrictions on online learning. Yang had received correspondence from administrators at EAU regarding this, which he reflected on as follows:

> (Reading from email) Professors should put clear time limits on assignments, and have like only one submission, and like here it says, like, make sure you have time limits on each question too, because students are going to cheat. (Ceases reading) And I just see how they say keep shortening the time, less time, and I just think they really don't consider students who can't focus, or even for courses where the material is really hard, like it's all about catching

cheating. Like what about if someone needs more time to read? I mean, it's my second language.

When we spoke a second time, he reported that he felt that there had been progress made in this regard, saying that recently, he felt that professors had started implementing policies in the classroom that took into account the varying situations students were in, particularly in regards to due dates and open book exams:

> So for me, at first, it was really hard because everything was on east coast time in the US, and I am here in China, so I would have to take tests and do assignments at weird times and not be able to sleep sometimes. But now, there's a lot of professors that are more, like, they don't require you to take a test at like one time. It's more like they give you a whole day to do things, and you can just go in and do it, and the questions are more like open notes[5], like they realized that's better than multiple choice for everything and really strict for all the rules.

He commented that this allowed for students in various circumstances to participate and learn, and that it showed a greater degree of trust in students.

Yang reported that he had never cheated, but that he had seen many cases of others cheating in his high school days. Moreover, through his work in student government, he had heard about many cases of cheating at EAU, noting that this last involved "just stuff like, you know, one person copies from another for a paper, or like someone finds test questions online." However, he reported that he had never

[5] Yang was referring to tests that allowed for usage of class materials and notes when coming up with answers, often requiring short or essay answers rather than multiple choice answers.

directly observed any instances of academic integrity violations at EAU, which he attributed to not having been in person for classes. He explained that he felt like no one would discuss cheating online, saying that

> you know, most people are not gonna say 'hey, can someone write my paper for me?' or 'can someone send me the test answers' on our class page. They're gonna DM (direct message) someone[6], like some friend that they know.

He stated that he had been very tempted to cheat in two classes, noting that he had actually been about to drop one of the classes because he felt that it would have been impossible to pass without cheating. In each case, he reported that

> it was because the professor was going to curve the grades, and I had some bad grades on the first two tests, and I knew that I could look the answers up online because I had seen them when I was looking for the textbook. They were like right there on Google. So, I thought that even if one or two people did that there was no way I could get an A.

He mentioned that one professor eventually decided to not curve the grades, and that in the case of the class he was about to drop, the professor had sent a message to all students saying that since grades on tests had been so low, he would drop the lowest three grades students had. Yang said that he "was so relieved. I was literally going to drop the class and take a W (withdrawal notation)[7], but then I saw his email and I saw I could still get an A in the class, so I didn't drop it."

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[6] Direct messaging is a function in many social media applications and websites which is private and not open to public viewing.

[7] The notation of W (Withdrawal) is a grade notation that shows that a student dropped a course after a schedule adjustment period.

The idea of considering a possible grade outcome before taking action figured largely in another area for Yang, which was whether or not he should do anything when observing another student engaging in an AIV. Yang reported that in general, he would choose not to inform on fellow classmates, but that he would consider doing so if harm in the form of a reduced grade could come to an innocent party, stating the following:

> If it's not going to be bad for anyone, or… I guess if it's not going to hurt someone, I really don't want to say anything. (Interviewer: Can you tell me what you mean by 'hurt someone?' Like what does hurt mean?) Um, really I think it's grades. I think it's if it is hurting someone else's grade. That's the first thing I think about. If it's hurting someone else's grade, I feel like I should say something.

When asked about punishments for AIVs, Yang stated that he felt that punishing students should not be the focus; instead, the focus should always be on helping people learn. Yang stated that he felt that professors and students have a responsibility to continue to learn and help others to do so:

> I do think the responsibility falls on both sides, like students and professors, because we are supposed to do what professors tell us to do, but we also need to learn the rules, like if we aren't following the rules, then that's our fault. So I think we need to follow the rules, but it's like professors need to… They can't just expect us to know. They have to teach us the rules too.

Yang reported that most punishments for AIVs that he had seen were not used to teach, and that they seemed focused more on scaring other students. He noted that

"especially because everything went online, it was just like everyone was focused on how students are going to cheat, don't let students cheat, you will get punishment for cheating." He observed that a special policy message had been sent out to EAU students to tell them just how serious a problem online cheating is, and that the message only focused on punishments and did not provide any resources for how to avoid violations of academic integrity. Yang felt that punishing AIVs was appropriate only if all conditions were fair, stating the following: "Sure, you should punish every case of cheating, but only if every student, professor, and administrator understands the rules the same way."

In speaking about this, he mentioned his own experience in high school of being falsely accused of cheating and how it had felt. He reported that he had been accused of cheating on a statistics exam by a teacher during his senior year, with the teacher saying that because one of his answers on the test was similar to that of another student, he must have cheated and he should confess to it quickly to avoid harsh consequences. Yang stated that he

> had no idea what he was talking about, I was taking the test facing a wall and I never cheat on anything, but he just accused me like that and told me that I have to confess. And I felt really helpless, like he has no proof and I did nothing wrong, but there's no process. He can just say I cheated and not let me tell my side of the story.

However, regarding accusations of AIVs in general, Yang reported that he felt that very few were baseless, even considering how he had been accused, stating the following:

> I think there is so much that people are doing and they don't get caught, so I kinda think that if someone is accused, it's more like, well, they got caught. (Interviewer: Well what about in your case?) Right, I know, but I still think my teacher had a reason, like he was suspicious. I don't think they just accuse you with no reason.

When asked what he would want to say to professors and administrators at EAU about academic integrity, he said he would want to tell them that academic integrity is all about trust, and that trust cannot exist if the messages around academic integrity are all about student cheating:

> Professors need to trust students more, and they need to teach students the rules and not just expect us to know them already. I mean, trust is the most important thing, because we are supposed to trust the professors to teach us, so they have to trust us too. And right now I feel like they are saying they don't trust us.

Liang Xia (China, Business, EAU)

Liang Xia and I spoke only once. However, our interview went much longer than our original allotted time, and she was extremely forthcoming in her responses. She is originally from China but has been living in the US since her last year of middle school. When we spoke, she had just completed her senior year at EAU and had already been accepted to graduate school at NAU. She majored in business at EAU, and was planning to continue this at NAU, though she also stated that she was interested in political science and was hoping to take classes in this as well. She reported that her family originally came to the US because of both schooling and the

ability to more freely pursue their religion. She also shared that her family had recently been approved for permanent residency after many years of trying. She commented that she has always felt that she needed to excel in her schooling because of how much her parents have worked to ensure that both she and her siblings have had the opportunity to do so. She also repeatedly stated that she feels that her religious beliefs have largely driven her commitment to honesty and integrity in her school work.

When asked what academic integrity means to her, Xia stated that it meant "being honest, definitely. For me, it's really just being honest, and following my moral code and really not cheating other people. Yeah. So being honest and not hurting other people." A violation of academic integrity, to her, was one of two things. At first, she reported that an AIV was the following:

> It's lying and trying to game the system. (Interviewer: Could you tell me what you mean by gaming the system?) It's like knowing that something is wrong, and you do it anyway because you know you will get a better grade.

However, when asked to elaborate on what made something an AIV to her personally, she reported that it was more related to a sense of morality, focusing on elements of how an action might harm others, saying the following:

> So okay, for me personally, it's doing something that breaks your moral code. It's doing something that you know is wrong, even though you know it's wrong. And even if you don't know it's wrong, if you think someone else might get hurt or someone else might lose opportunities, then that's the same thing.

Xia reported that it was not always easy for her to negotiate the competing issues in her life surrounding her moral code and the need to get good grades, and she further noted that even when she felt fairly certain about her judgment regarding whether an action would be acceptable or not, she felt the need to examine it further and discuss it with others whom she trusted. Because of this, she reported that she would consult with her parents when a situation was unclear for her, stating the following:

> sometimes a friend tells me something or asks me something, and I'm not sure if it would be cheating to talk to them or to answer them. I'd say that happens to me a lot, because my friends know that I'm honest and that I always study and I know the professors. So, when that happens, I always ask my parents about it. And most of the time, they tell me what they think and I'm like, yeah, that is exactly what I was thinking too. So, now I'm sure.

Interestingly, Xia reported that she had never read the code of conduct at EAU and that she did not intend to read the code of conduct at NAU. She reported that this was because she did not need to, explaining that she is always "always honest. It's like I said about my moral code. I have a moral code that I follow, and my code says I have to be honest, so there is no reason for me to read the code." When I asked about some of the more intricate details of a code of conduct that might be problematic, such as rules for proper attribution and self-plagiarism, Xia reported that although these sorts of things are difficult, she felt that because she is honest and she asks questions, they are not problems for her.

In the context of this discussion, she recounted a case where she wanted to reuse the topic of a paper from one class in another class, but because she was not sure about whether or not this was allowed, she first asked both her professors for permission:

> I wasn't going to reuse the paper, but I wanted to do more research on the topic, so I asked both of my professors what they thought of it if I use the same topic. So, like, I never heard about self-plagiarism, but I am honest, so I asked them both. And they both said that it was okay as long as I only keep the topic and I add more sources, and I don't copy anything from the previous paper except for the sources. So, no, I don't think I need to read the code of conduct because I am always following my moral code.

When asked whether or not she had any experiences dealing with academic integrity violations, Xia reported that she had many, many experiences dealing with them, but that she had never engaged in any herself. She reported that

> my friends ask me about cheating all the time, because I am always honest and they know that. So, they tell me when they get in trouble for cheating and they ask me, like "what should I do, Xia?" And they tell me when they are thinking about cheating too, or if they don't know if something is cheating. Sometimes I can just tell them how to fix it without cheating, like if they go to the writing center and talk to their professor. But sometimes it's after they cheated already, and sometimes I have to tell them that, you know, actions have consequences.

When I asked if she had ever informed professors about those students who either had cheated or had intended to cheat, Xia stated that she had not, saying that

> I don't do that, because I didn't do that. I didn't do anything. I just listen and I try to help. Like, I feel like you are trying to say that I did something wrong, but that's not true. I never did anything wrong. I just tried to help them, so it's not my job to tell those professors if someone cheats in their class. That's not… I mean, it's, if they want to tell their professor, okay, but why would I do that?

Xia reported that she had served as a teaching assistant (TA)[8] during her junior and senior years, and that she had actually been responsible for offering her input on grading and on academic integrity matters in the class she was a TA for. In this role, she reported that she had found one case of clear plagiarism, and that she had notified her professor of it. Xia stated that she was sure that this was plagiarism, since she "found the page (the student) copied from on like, the second page of the Google search I did. So, it wasn't even hard. It was like they weren't even trying. And it was the same, like exactly the same." However, when she reported this to the professor for whom she was working, the professor

> told me to just ignore it. She said that maybe it was, like, something else, like maybe they didn't mean to do it, and she said it wasn't a big deal. She basically said 'thanks for telling me, and now just forget about it.' That's the

[8] Teaching assistants are students who take on certain responsibilities in teaching, ostensibly under the supervision of a professor or instructor of a given course (Weider et al., 2012). Most commonly, this involves leading discussion sections, teaching lab sections, grading homework, proctoring exams, and sometimes fielding student questions and emails. Teaching assistants are sometimes graduate students and sometimes undergraduate students, and they are sometimes paid and sometimes not.

way that I thought. So, I was like, okay, but now what can I do? I know this student cheated but nothing is going to happen. Honestly, I was really angry.

When asked about whether rules surrounding academic integrity are fair, Xia stated that

> they are fair, I think, yeah. But they are only fair if people know the rules. Like for me, I am not worried. I know that I am always going to be honest. But now that we are talking and I am thinking about it, I think that lots of my friends probably don't know the rules. I kinda… I guess I kinda thought about it before, but I'm saying it now. So, I guess that I am thinking about it more. I guess that most of my friends don't know the rules. And most of my friends don't… I don't mean that they are not honest, but I think that maybe I am more honest. Like I am honest even when it is hurting me, but I… I don't think everyone is honest when, you know they are, they are going to get hurt.

Xia indicated that she felt that although she did not need to know the rules of academic integrity at her institutions, she could see how that would be important for someone who was not always honest, stating that

> it's different when… OK, so like what I said before when I was a TA. Plagiarizing is not okay, right, we all know that, but the professor didn't do anything. So, for someone else, like, if they see that, they might think it's okay to plagiarize, and then they do it in another class and they get caught and now it's cheating.

When asked how she felt about cheating being punished, Xia stated that she believed that punishment was necessary, but only if it is consistent and focused on

teaching and learning. She recalled an incident that she helped a friend through in which a whole group of students in a math course had been accused of cheating, but not given any details about the accusation:

> She showed me the email from the professor, and it basically just said 'I know you cheated, so you should confess and maybe I won't punish you as much.' It didn't even say how he thought she cheated or where or anything else, so that's why she came to me and was like 'what does this mean?' So, we wrote an email back to the professor asking him to explain, and he never wrote back. So, the first time that she actually heard what she was accused of doing was at the honor board meeting.

Reflecting on this, Xia said that she felt like the focus had been on punishment rather than learning. She further stated that

> when I think about this, like in my case, I have a professor who ignores cheating, and then my friend has a professor who doesn't even tell her how he thinks she is cheating, I think how are you supposed to learn anything? It's like punishment doesn't do anything except punishment, but punishment shouldn't be like that. It should be more like 'you did this and it's wrong, and here is the right way to do it, and this punishment is so you can remember.' And then you should have a chance to do it the right way.

Xia further contrasted this with a friend of hers who had directly engaged in a contract cheating arrangement to take a test on behalf of another student. While attempting to do so, Xia reported that the student had been observed by a teaching assistant who knew her, at which point the teaching assistant confronted the student

about why she would be sitting an exam for a course she was not taking. The student then left the exam room and contacted Xia about what would likely happen. Xia reported that she had told the student that she would likely face serious consequences. However, in the end, this did not take place. Xia reported the following:

> When my friend got caught by the TA sitting in for someone else's exam, I was like this girl is screwed. Like she is about to, you know, get talked to by like the department chair and the girl who she was taking her exam for her is, like, you know, totally screwed and like it's just gonna be bad, and like, literally nothing ended up happening. Like the TA sent her an email and was like 'that was stupid,' and that was it, the end. And then, you know, on the other hand with my friends in that other class, you know, like they had, like, literally no idea what they did wrong until like the actual hearing, and like one girl got punished and the other girl didn't. (Interviewer: How do you feel when you think about this?) It just doesn't make sense. It's not fair. Like I want it to be fair, but I can't say that is fair.

When I asked her specifically what she would want to say to faculty members and administrators about academic integrity and its implementation, Xia stated that she would want to tell professors in particular that

> students don't know what you think cheating means just because you think students should know what you think cheating means. You have to tell them, and… but you can't just tell them. You have to make it really clear. So you can't just say "oh, don't plagiarize." Like I never thought I plagiarized, but

then I had an English class where a lot of people had problems with… citing sources. And we had to do extra work on MLA and APA, and I thought it was stupid, but I learned a lot.

Zhang Wei (China, Business, PSU)

Zhang Wei was studying business at Public State University at the time of our interview. She indicated that she did not take any supplemental English for Academic Purposes courses upon arrival at PSU, given her score on the TOEFL. She reported that she has been focused on getting the best grades possible since she arrived in the US, and that she feels that her peers have the same focus, particularly since, as she states, "if you have the good grades, you get the good internships, you get the good jobs."

She spoke to me owing to her experience dealing with the adjudication of an AIV she committed at PSU, which she freely admitted to and discussed at length. She was very clear about wanting to have her identity kept as vague as possible, to the point of debating whether or not she wanted to reveal her major. In the end, she decided that it would be acceptable to reveal her major, but that she did not want any information about her classes or professors to be discussed, and she asked that her words be paraphrased as much as possible.

She did not speak about her ideas of what academic integrity means at length, but she did indicate that she felt that that honesty and rule-following were the most important parts of academic integrity, stating that she strives to "be honest and do my best work and I try to do what the professor says." Wei reported that she felt like most people had a sort of innate understanding of what cheating is, but also stated that she

felt that there is no clear definition of cheating at US institutions. She further reported that even after her experience being adjudicated for cheating on a test, she still had never actually read the code of conduct at PSU:

> Even after everything, I still feel like I don't know, like I still never read the policy. I mean I read the policy because it's in the email (from the student conduct office), but I don't understand, and then I never read more.

She talked about how she had seen several peers receive completely different consequences for the same behavior, sometimes from the same instructor in the same class. For instance, she related how various students had utilized online resources that had been forbidden by the professor of one course, but that many of them were not caught, while one was given a failing grade, one was put on academic probation, and one was simply told not to do it again. She reported that although in each case she found the action to be cheating, she was very surprised and angry that there would be different consequences for the various students, stating that "it's not make sense. Like why does he have to take the course again and I am just fine?" When I spoke with her about mitigating circumstances and the idea that individual details might be considered in each case, she reported that this made sense to her. However, she felt like far too much was dependent upon how, when, and why a professor chose to report a student for cheating. In talking about her situation, she believed that relying upon answers taken from the internet for a homework assignment, term paper, or in-class test was the exact same action regardless of mitigating circumstances, and that the fact that she knew of several different outcome meant that there was no clear

standard of what an academic integrity violation really is at PSU, stating the following:

> I know so many students who do the same thing as me, or worse, like worse than I do, and they never, no one says they are cheating. They just pass the class. That's it. But then my friend does, same thing I do it, and he gets an XF. Like, I can pass, get a good grade, and he is have to take the class again. That's not fair. It's like, okay, just don't get caught.

Wei spoke at great length about her worries about making sure she could get an A in every class she took, stating that this was her motivation for engaging in the actions she took in her adjudicated case. She explained that she had taken several midterms for her class already, and in each case, she had taken the tests in class and had done well. However, upon shifting to online instruction, she had become worried that she would not understand course content sufficiently to ensure that she would be able to perform well enough on the final midterm. This was particularly important given that if she were able to get a passing grade on the final midterm, she would not have to take the final in her class.

She reported that owing to this, she wanted to make sure that she received a perfect grade on her final midterm. Thus, she said that she resorted to using the online answer service of Chegg[9], a popular online platform for buying and selling answers to

[9] Chegg has been well documented as a major resource for cheating in university courses (Lancaster & Cotarlan, 2021), and as such, it is not surprising that it shows up in stories here. Chegg is a website that allows students to find nearly immediate answers to questions on tests for a price. It purports to be a site that simply offers advice and assistance on university coursework, but in fact offers real-time assistance with tests and simple access to paper writing services. As several participants state, Chegg is used only for the purpose of either obtaining answers to homework and test answers or verifying one's own work on assignments to ensure full marks.

tests and homework. She reported that while taking her midterm in an online format, she decided to send the questions that she was given to Chegg and ask that others try to solve them. She noted that while Chegg usually guarantees answers within about 30 minutes, she received answers to the questions she submitted, as a paying member of the service, within 15 minutes. She stated that by the time she received the answers to the questions she had submitted, she had already devised her own answers, and that she only used the answers received from Chegg as a check against her own work. Furthermore, she explained during our interview that she changed only one of her answers, based on what information she received from Chegg. Moreover, she also stated that she would have had a passing grade even without any assistance.

Wei indicated that she had seen many people cheating in courses, and that, in general, professors were either unaware of it or "they know but they don't care." In particular, she pointed out how many of her professors had been using the same tests and assignments for many years, and how the answers to these tests and assignments were readily available with a simple Google search in most cases. She stated that she felt that this showed that professors really did not care about cheating, and that professors themselves were responsible for creating the conditions that enabled students to cheat, stating the following:

> I guess I just thought that all the tests are from the professor. But then I saw that lots of people are talking about where to find the test, or the test answers. And I'm think, okay, let's just look for answers. So when I see that it's all the same, like the same tests, the same assignments, from the same places, I feel like I should… I, like why do I have to work hard and you don't work hard.

(Interviewer: Who do you mean? Who doesn't work hard?) The professors, come on, you know. It's like they all use the same test, but then, oh, wow, they're upset because we find the test answers? Like, why not? Why do we work hard for this, because they don't work for this.

When asked what she wanted to say to professors and administrators, she said she would just ask them to be clear about their expectations, to provide more information about assignments, and most of all, to be consistent in how violations of academic integrity are treated. She noted that "right now it seems like every professor just does what they want and you never know what the rules are."

Ma Qiang (China, Business, PSU)

Ma was a business major about to graduate from PSU when we first spoke. She had come to the US directly from China with the idea that a business degree would allow her to gain work experience in the US on OPT (optional practical training)[10], and also allow for the possibility of remaining in the US through an internship and subsequent employment under an H1-B visa. Ma had finished her final exams when we spoke a second time and was already working an internship which would become full-time upon her graduation.

At this point she said that she felt more comfortable talking about her real experiences without fear of repercussions. However, when we first spoke, Ma was very worried

[10] This is an option available to international students which permits work experience in the field of study that an international student has engaged, with time restrictions depending on the specific field of study (USCIS, 2021a). For example, a student who studies business might be able to obtain 12 months of OPT, while a student who studies chemistry might be able to extend their OPT up to 3 years (USCIS, 2021a).

about telling her story, particularly because previously when she talked about her experiences dealing with academic integrity violations with others, she had been penalized academically and socially. Thus, she did not want to provide certain details about her experiences during the first interview for fear of retaliation. She stated that she felt that it was very important for students to have their experiences noted and acknowledged, but also that it was important that her story be presented in a way that made it impossible for any future retaliation against her.

Ma reported that she originally thought of academic integrity as being something that applied to everyone in an educational institution, that it was a question of being honest and truthful about one's work. However, she stated that this perspective changed during her time in the US, and that approaching graduation, she felt that academic integrity is actually

> just students following the rules or look(ing) like they're following the rules. Like that's it, because professors don't have to follow those rules at all, and even I feel like the dean or my advisor w[as] never following the rules.

She explained that this was due in large part to her experience of being falsely accused of cheating by a professor and having to deal with the aftermath of it. In this situation she had been offered several incentives to not speak about the matter by administrators in her department. Additionally, she reported that advisors had specifically told her about a financial workaround to reinstatement if she would just accept the professor's punishment. She felt shocked by this experience, saying that

> it was like, first of all, nothing was going to happen to my professor, but even if something happened to me, I could get out of the punishment if I paid for

> extra classes. And then, when I actually got something to happen to my professor, it was like the school just wanted to give me an A and make the whole thing go away. I'm like, so we're not supposed to even look up answers to a test or work in a group, but it's okay for the dean to try to give me a grade so I won't talk, and it's okay to tell me I can pay more money and get away with cheating.

She reported that this left her feeling like academic integrity is just a set of rules for students, and that they are rules that can be used against certain students or overlooked in favor of certain students. Ma noted that she felt that little attention was given towards actually teaching the code of academic integrity, with only a brief mention made during her orientation:

> I feel like no one cares, like no one talks about it after the orientation. (Interviewer: Do you remember what they showed you at orientation?) It was just like a powerpoint, I think, and to be honest, I never paid attention. You know, I think it was something like about plagiarism, but I don't really remember. But that's the problem, because they only say it once at orientation, so it's like no one cares, but then if someone says you cheated, ok, now they care. Like if you care about this so much, then you have to teach us.

Ma also reported that her roommate was a TA, and that as a rule, the roommate would never report any cases of cheating, even if it was clear that cheating had taken place: "She said she would never report it to her professor because it was just small assignments and, you know, that could be really bad for the students. So, she just ignored the students who are cheating."

She also noted that the rules themselves often did not match the reality of classes and studying, and that on occasion, it was actually the professor or the curriculum that is to blame for academic integrity violations. This was reflected in her discussion of her own experiences of cheating, which she reported that she had in fact engaged in many times. She reported that when she first arrived in the US, she had done her best to complete all work on her own, sometimes staying up all night to complete assignments. However, she explained, "even though I was, like, working hard all the time, I'm not getting straight As. Like, I'm not getting Cs, but sometimes Bs and never an A+." She reported that a friend of hers finally told her about a website where she could find answers to homework sets, and also told her that everyone else in the class had been using the site and had been getting perfect scores as a result. Ma shared that

> (this) made me feel like, why I am working so hard and never get an A, and everyone else is just copying and they get a perfect score. And then I thought about how it's just small homework, and I need to save time for the finals and papers, so I started using the same website other people were using.

Ma stated that she continued this practice for small assignments. When I asked her what she meant by small, she stated that "a small assignment is like, homework, like problems from the textbook or a quiz on our learning platform, small stuff, like not a big part of your grade." She reported that she would never engage in cheating behavior on big assignments, which she defined as "final exams and papers, you know. Like the big assignments are the big part of your grade, the really important things that are showing you learned the material. I never cheated on any of those."

She also explained that she knew several students who did cheat on big assignments, but she did not feel like it was her place to say or do anything about it because "it's their choice, and I'm not… It's not my job to tell them how to do their studies."

She spoke at length of her experience of being falsely accused of cheating on a large group project, repeating her previous statement that she would never cheat on a big assignment. She stated that "the professor just told us that he knew we were cheating because we are Chinese, and so he didn't trust us." She reported that the professor in her case said that he had received "an anonymous tip on a post-it note" that Ma had been cheating on the group project, and that this was enough for him to refer the case to the student conduct office. She explained that she found out about this through her professor's public accusation of her and her group mates in class. Ma criticized this, saying the following:

> (the professor) never had any evidence. (The professor) only told me he had received a post-it note that said I cheated, and he said that because he told the student conduct about it, it would… I would have to deal with them, and it was my problem.

She reported that the only reason she was able to avoid punishment was that she always recorded her class:

> I always recorded class. I always had a recorder for class, because most students had recorders for recording class. And it was like he didn't care, he didn't even think about it. So, he said he didn't trust Chinese students and he thinks that Chinese students always cheat, and I was recording it.

She intimated that it was this recording that helped her to avoid a standard punishment for cheating at PSU, saying that without it, she felt that she would have been seen as guilty:

> So I think about it sometimes, like what would happen if I don't… if I did not record the professor. I could use it to show the honor council that I was not guilty. So, I was like, I could show that I didn't do it. But I also think, like, what if I didn't have proof? What if I just was… if I was have to say like "I didn't do it!" and I have no proof. I thought that so many other students didn't have that, and they probably just said 'okay, I cheated.' But even though I didn't cheat, I still… everyone still thought 'oh, she is a cheater.'

Despite this, when I asked her about the idea of students accused of cheating most likely being guilty, she reported that she felt that this was likely true. She commented that "yeah, you know, in my case, I didn't cheat that time, but I cheated other times. I feel like everyone knows that everyone is cheating, like all the time." She explained that she felt like it was more important to not be seen as a cheater, stating that

> everyone knows that it, like, we have to cheat sometimes, even we don't call it cheating, but… I mean, when everyone knew that, like, they said that I was cheating, no one wanted to talk to me or no one wanted to be in my group.

When I asked her about how she felt about the possible contradiction between her own experience of being falsely accused and her statement that most people who are accused are actually guilty, she stated that "it's your bad luck. Like some people never get accused, and they just go all the way through, get their degree, graduate,

and no one ever thinks that they cheated. But some people just get caught." Regarding this, Ma explained that there were gradations of cheating, with what she saw to be more serious and less serious types of cheating, or "big cheating" and "small cheating" as she referred to them. Ma reported that she saw a great deal of "small cheating," but reported that "big cheating" was something she felt students tried to avoid if possible as it garners more attention:

> You don't want to do something that (is) obvious, you know? Like, you cheat on a big test, okay, now everyone is gonna know you are cheating. So I think most people don't do that, because it's too much. (Interviewer: So most people don't do that. Thank you. But you mentioned, you said you don't want to do something obvious. Can you tell me more about that?) So,… yeah, I think it's, for most people, most students, we don't… It's like, don't cheat on big things, because everyone will pay attention. But you can cheat on small things, and no one cares. So just don't get caught, don't pay attention, or don't get… don't get the attention.

When asked about what she would want to tell administrators and professors about academic integrity, Ma expressed that she would like to

> tell them to teach us. Seriously, just teach us. Like, the rules are there, but no one really tries to teach us the rules. They just expect that we know the rules, and then they punish us if they want to. And it's not okay.

Ma also said that she felt that students have a responsibility to confront professors and administrators if they notice a problem with teaching or academic integrity that is not being addressed, saying that

most people, I mean especially Chinese, don't want to make problems. It's like, if I stay quiet, if I ignore you (the professor or administrator) even though you have a problem, and I get an A, it's okay. But then they never fix the problem. That's why I didn't give up, even though I lost so many things.

She reported that she felt that someone had to be willing to take action and be willing to suffer for it if a change in teaching or policy is going to take place. Nevertheless, Ma said that "that's so hard for most students. And, like, what about students who can't lose? Like if they could lose their visa, or not able to graduate. It's so hard."

Park Kildong (Korea, Business, PSU)

Kildong is a recent graduate of PSU who came straight from high school in Korea to pursue a degree in business administration. When we first spoke, he was in his last term of classes and was looking forward to working full-time over the summer at a firm that he had been interning with for the previous year. He was planning to do this through OPT but had also applied for lawful permanent resident status in the US through his brother, who had been born in the US and thus was a citizen already. When we spoke next, Kildong had obtained his permanent resident status and was continuing to work at the firm he had interned at. He reported that he felt very different at this point because he did not have to worry about his visa status anymore. This changed circumstance had led him to reconsider some of his initial responses provided in our first interview.

When I asked him what he thought academic integrity is, Kildong reported that it is "just not cheating. That's the first thing I think of, and also no plagiarism."

He elaborated on this more when asked about what a violation of academic integrity is, saying "it's the same, no cheating and no plagiarism, but also lots of professors are always saying 'don't work in groups,' like on exams and homework, and don't use a phone in exams. Oh, and don't use a note sheet." He reported that he had only really heard the details of the code of academic integrity once during his orientation, stating that "the only time that anyone talks about academic integrity is when you have to write that paragraph on your test, the one that says 'I won't cheat,' you know?" He also commented that

> sometimes people talk about cheating, yeah, but they don't talk about academic integrity. I mean, people talk about cheating when someone gets caught, or like when a professor gets mad because of cheating, he tells the whole class cheating is bad, and then we all are like 'who was it? Who got caught? Oh no! (laughs)'

Kildong reported that he had never read the code of academic integrity himself, despite having been punished for an academic integrity violation in his sophomore year. When I asked him more about this, he reported that he had copied some work on a group project from Wikipedia and had been caught by his professor, saying that "it was really small, you know, just like two sentences that I forgot to put quotation marks around them, but he was really strict about it and said it was plagiarism and he dropped my grade to a C." He explained that this was a purely internal sanction, and that the professor never sent him through the formal disciplinary process at PSU: "No, I never had to, like, meet with anyone from honor

council or anything. It was just a lower grade and the professor said never do it again."

However, Kildong commented that the consequences did not end with a grade reduction, since the professor who had caught him copying from Wikipedia had also told his colleagues about what had happened, which resulted in a denial of recommendation for an internship from another professor:

> I asked my professor for this class I was taking to write a letter of recommendation for me for an internship. It's actually the internship that I got, the same place I am going to work this summer, but when I asked him, he said he didn't want to write a letter for me because he knew that I cheated in another class. I was really surprised because it wasn't… I mean, you know, it was a different class and a different professor. It wasn't on my transcript or anything, you know. So, I was like 'how did you know about that?' and he was like 'all the professors talk to each other here, and we know when that happens, and you need to learn that there are consequences.' I was like (emphatic) 'what?' I mean, I still don't know how I think about that, because I was… I feel like yeah, I did something wrong, but you already punished me, and now someone else is going to punish me. That's not right. It's too much.

When I asked Kildong about the idea that this was too much, he stated that he felt like the focus in his case had been on punishment and on making sure that he had been identified as someone who cheats. He reported that he

> just felt like all (the professor) cared about, all the other professors cared about too, all they cared about was they wanted to make sure that I had to feel

bad. They wanted me to feel bad. They wanted to make sure that, like, other people had more chances before me. (Laughs) I mean, I copied like two sentences! And now I'm trying to do the way they told me I have to do it, and they say that they won't help me. I mean, you know, I… What am I going to do? I already got the bad grade. Now, I'm supposed to not get the internship?

Kildong further reported that he felt that the rules of academic integrity were unfair because of how opaque they were. He stated that "we don't know the rules, like I said. No one talks about it. I mean, professors never talk about it until they punish you, and then you're just punished." However, he explained that this could easily change, in his opinion:

> I think professors need to talk about it more. I think they know their own rules, you know. Like even if they don't talk about the rules for the whole school, they can tell us their rules and then we know, like, ok, be really careful in this class and don't copy.

Elaborating on this, Kildong reported that he had seen many people engaging in activities that might or might not be cheating in classes, stating that since he still felt unsure about the rules of academic integrity, it was not clear if certain actions would be cheating:

> Some professors were like, 'you can never work in groups on homework,' right, but then they give us this huge group project for the final. (Laughs) I mean, can we work in groups or not? So, if you go to the (Student Union Building) and everyone is in groups, like is either… everyone is cheating, or everyone is doing group projects?

On the whole, though, Kildong expressed that he felt that there were certain things that all students should know are violations of academic integrity without any instruction:

> everyone knows that if you get someone else to write your paper for you, it's cheating. That's obvious. Or like looking up the answers to a test while you take the test, that's obvious. I feel like for big things, you don't, like, no one needs to teach you if it's really obvious.

In total, though, Kildong felt that it was important to punish violations of academic integrity, noting that while his experience had been very negative at the time, it had taught him a valuable lesson. He reported that

> when it happened, I was really angry, like this isn't fair and maybe I won't get my internship because of not using quotation marks. But now, I think it was kinda good too. Like if that didn't happen, I would never learn about how serious plagiarism rules are. I never thought about them, you know, but then all of a sudden it's a big problem, so I started to pay attention every time I used someone else's words in a paper.

Kildong spoke of how he had reflected on his experiences cheating over his years in school, noting how he felt that both he and those around him had been focused exclusively on grades rather than learning outcomes:

> I always thought grades were most important, so I did what I had to do so I could get high grades. Like grades were everything to me, but that was the same for everyone else around me, too. I think it's a pretty common thing for Asian culture, because I saw that for all the Chinese, Vietnamese, Japanese

students, we all just always wanted high grades. Now I think about that, and I'm like, why did I waste so much time on the grades when I could have tried to learn more. I think most of the time I thought about cheating, I was thinking about grades, and I never even cared about learning.

He reported that he felt that it was important to keep this in mind when it comes to punishing violations of academic integrity, saying that the focus should be on learning and getting a chance to do better in the future, not on just grade penalties:

So actually, yeah, I think… what did you call it? Violations of academic integrity, right, we should punish them, because that can help people learn. But that's what I mean, you know. We should help people learn the way that I learned. And also, I don't mean that you, like, punish everything. I mean that you have to show people that it's serious, you know, it's not like nothing. It's important. Like you have to pay attention, because it's gonna make a big problem if you don't.

He clarified this point further when he spoke about what he would want to say to faculty and administrators at PSU:

Honestly, I want to say to them that we need a second chance. I feel like they never gave us a second chance. They just wanted to give us a punishment. But even if they don't teach us well, they can still help us learn if we have a second chance. So, even if they don't say their rules to us, they can still help us if they tell us why they think we cheated. Just, teach us, tell us what you think is cheating.

Chen Fang (China, Business, NAU)

Fang is a business major at NAU who is in a transition period between careers, having worked for several years at an institution of higher education in China prior to deciding to pursue a business degree in the US. He was taking both credit-bearing and non-credit English for Academic Purposes courses when we spoke.

He was responsible for ensuring academic integrity in his previous work; however, this led to some negative consequences for him. To wit, he spoke of notifying local authorities of suspected instances of plagiarism by particular members of the teaching staff at his institution. In response to this, he reported that his social media accounts were frozen or deleted; according to him, his WeChat[11] profile was frozen and he was unable to reply to posts on any online social media platform. He reported that it was after this that he decided to seek a new qualification in a different field in a different country. When I asked him how he felt about this, he replied that he

> (felt) scared, you know, I mean it's scary! But not surprised. I know it's possible that something like this will happen. You know, no one wants to fix this problem, they just want to ignore, and then it's easier to make me not talk about it. No one ever said to me to give me a warning. I just all of a sudden can't use WeChat.

[11] WeChat is a Chinese communication and social media application that is used as the default means of communication among students from China and most Chinese-speaking areas of the world (Kharpal, 2019). It can be used to send instant messages, create group chats, and ever find other users of the app in a given geographical area. Notably, it is possible to create targeted advertisements on the app for students in particular countries, at particular institutions, or in particular majors. Over the last several years, this has included increasing numbers of advertisements targeting Chinese students studying in English medium institutions of higher education (Fellner, 2020). Typically, contract cheating firms based in China seek out Chinese student groups in Australian, Canadian, American, and British universities and post advertisements for essay writing services, often with promises of guaranteed passing grades and no plagiarism found (Zhou & Guo, 2018).

When asked about academic integrity, Fang replied that any notion of academic integrity must be tied to stealing or theft. He reported that the idea of taking the work of someone else and representing it as one's own was clearly the same as stealing. He also reported that he felt that anyone who engaged in such behavior was a thief, with the exception of undergraduate students who are simply copying works of established artists in order to earn a living wage and support for their studies. This practice, he reported, was commonplace among students of the creative arts in China, at least in his experience. He explained that this was not just accepted practice, but also a practice he found to be moral and part of the overall learning process of the arts. He also stated that he does not feel that punishment is appropriate for instances of alleged cheating unless the punishment involves an "opportunity for redemption," enabling one to learn why what he or she did was not appropriate and how it would be better to take a different course of action.

Fang stated that violations of academic integrity are perceived as particularly serious and bad at NAU, stating that anyone who is judged to have committed one will lose a visa or be removed from the university. He noted that he has seen this happen to some of his classmates, but reported that he is not worried about such an outcome because he would never cheat.

However, he also stated that he feels like detection and punishment of academic integrity violations is directly tied to social connections. He discussed this issue in relation to his experiences in China, mentioning that he observed several cases where people with privileged connections were able to successfully avoid a charge of cheating when they clearly had done so. He reported that he has tried to be

completely up front and honest when it comes to academic integrity in the US, and that whenever someone has asked him to participate in an activity that he perceives to involve cheating or a breach of clear rules of academic integrity, he has rejected the request. Moreover, he informed the requesting party that he believed that such a request is a breach of academic integrity.

When asked what he would like to tell the administration of NAU about academic integrity, he said that it is of paramount importance to consider the background of students coming into the university, particularly given the large international student contingent. He stated that in the case of China, many students who are coming over are from a more socially and economically privileged position, and that because of this, they may have grown accustomed to ignoring rules of academic integrity and not having any negative consequences. He suggested that the university will need to take this into account and consider how to instill the values it purports to enforce.

Computer Science (CS) Majors

Lee Taewon (Korea, Computer Science, EAU)

Taewon is originally from Korea but completed high school in the US and is currently working on obtaining permanent US residency. He has lived in several areas of the US, all on the East Coast, but he identifies most with the mid-Atlantic area. Taewon graduated and managed to find work using his OPT between the time we first spoke and when I was able to speak with him again.

He reported that he feels that academic integrity really is simply an injunction against dishonesty, saying that "basically, it just means 'don't cheat' and 'don't lie.'

That's how I feel." He noted that he never really engaged in anything he feels involves academic integrity violations, except for his group work. I inquired about this, and he explained that in his computer science program group work was a major stumbling point. He stated that he feels that although he never read the code of academic integrity and was never accused of impropriety, he did understand the meaning of academic integrity, and that he tried to ensure that he followed all rules in his work. With this said, he reported that he had been confused on several occasions about how acceptable group work would be, and what the limits on group work actually were, given that different professors interpreted the idea of group work differently and for different assignments.

Taewon reported that he had tried to follow the rules specified for group work as closely as possible, but also that many of the rules seemed to allow for diverse interpretations. He stated that many of his professors had communicated regulations about group work, saying that none was acceptable, and that if any group work took place, all members would need to be credited on any assignment that they had contributed to. If not, the professor explained, students would be considered to have cheated or plagiarized. He noted how this led to the possibility of being accused of cheating when trying to give proper attribution depending how a given professor views group work, as either collaboration or collusion.

He also observed that specific programs for checking similarities in coding across students were in use in his courses, with some using Turnitin[12] and some using

[12] Turnitin is a program which searches for text similarities, comparing any document submitted to it with a proprietary database of papers, articles, and other documents, and highlighting found similarities as well as where these similarities come from and a percentage match of text (Turnitin, n.d.a). This program is often used as an add-on in learning management systems such as Blackboard and Canvas,

other custom-built programs or codes for Python, and that professors interpreted the results of these programs differently and that there was no departmental standard. Taewon expressed that "for some professors, if you had, like 10% similarity with something else, they said you were cheating. But for others, even you had like 20 or 30% similarity, they don't care. So, you never know what they think is cheating."

Taewon also reported that he was very confused about the interaction between online and in-person fora, particularly with the online platform Piazza[13], which many professors at his institution used as a supplement to their schoolwide online platform for classes. Piazza is used to share information and to facilitate group discussions, particularly as it pertains to assignments. As such, Taewon reported that even when professors warned harshly against speaking with other class members about assignments, they did not indicate whether this applied to discussions on Piazza. This led him and, according to Taewon, others to pursue discussions on Piazza even when peer discussion had been forbidden for in-person meetings. He never found that any

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but it can be used as a stand-alone service as well. The program provides both aggregate and granular data about similarity, noting an overall similarity score showing the total percentage of a paper which appears to be the same as other sources, as well as specific percentages of similarity for individual sentences in the paper (Turnitin, n.d.b). This can be used not only on standard written work, such as essays, but also on coding assignments in computer science (Lee, 2021). Many participants reported that their professors or instructors required them to submit their work through Turnitin, and also reported that professors specified certain cutoff similarity scores that would be deemed unacceptable. This reflects the fact that Turnitin requires instructors to specify submission to Turnitin for individual assignments, and the fact that post-submission evaluations are often not permitted by Turnitin without a special subscription to the service. This is important to note as Turnitin operates based on institutional rather than individual subscriptions, a fact which means that instructors must abide by institutional subscription rules (Turnitin, 2020). While it is possible to use similar services to Turnitin, including the Turnitin sponsored service iThenticate, to evaluate student work, ultimately, it is the institutional policy which is used for purposes of adjudication (Zaza & McKenzie, 2018).

[13] Piazza is an online learning platform which allows for students to discuss assignments in a discussion board format (Flamm, 2010). This is most commonly used in computer science courses, and it can be problematic in terms of how and when so-called "collaboration" occurs versus so-called "collusion."

professor complained about this, saying that "it was like there were different rules for all the places and different times you talk to other students."

Beyond this, Taewon reported that he was always confused about how much he could share in group assignments, such as projects and homework, as well as when and under what circumstances. He noted that he never felt that any two professors had the same standards, and that he was always trying to navigate the rules from one class to another. He stated that he did not feel like this a was a big challenge because he felt that "if you are being honest, then you don't have to worry." However, he also said that "even when you are being honest, you have to make sure that you are following the rules that the professor tells you." When I asked him to elaborate on this, he stated that "I know that the rules are complicated, yeah, but I am always honest, so I don't need to worry about the rules. If I am honest, I am following the rules."

In contrast to the overall fairness he expressed, though, Taewon described two instances in which he felt that the rules of academic integrity at his school were not being applied fairly or consistently. He reported one instance in which he was taking a test and another student spoke to a friend in Korean immediately upon finishing the test. Taewon reported that the student who spoke simply said "Good luck, man – see you when you finish." However, when the professor of the class, who doesn't speak or understand Korean, heard this, s/he told both students that they had cheated. Taewon reported that the student who had spoken originally did not suffer any penalties from this, because his test had already been turned in. However, the student who had simply been listening was told that he could not pass the class, and as such, he should likely find another major. Taewon reported that this is exactly what the

other student did, eventually finding another related major and graduating on time and finding gainful employment.

Taewon also reported that he was concerned about another feature of grading and graduation, which was the TA (teaching assistant) problem in computer science. He stated that, in his experience, certain courses had undergraduate students serving as TAs, though it was not clear why they had been selected by the professors. These TAs were responsible for grading homework/assignments and some tests. And according to Taewon, these same TAs tended to allow their friends to get away with copying answers and to also provide their friends with answers to tests and exams. Taewon reported that he saw these TAs support their friends on homework and exams by ignoring rules of academic integrity, while ensuring that the rules of academic integrity were enforced on those students who did not have friendship relationships with the TAs.

He also explained that he did not want to see people punished for everything, but rather be allowed to learn, grow, and adapt when they are identified as having violated academic integrity rules. This is to say that Taewon felt that "punishment is not okay by itself, because you have to let people learn about the rules and you have to let people grow in their understanding of the rules." Taewon stated that when it comes to group work, he would like to see clearer expectations and examples provided by professors, and also by TAs. As he mentioned, the term "group work" itself can invite multiple interpretations, including collaboration, collusion, consulting, and even discussion. Because of this, he stated that he wished that professors would be far clearer in what they actually meant when they said "group

work." He also mentioned that he would like to see better usage of text-matching, code-matching, and similarity-checking programs, with explicit departmental standards for what counts as cheating.

Kim Ik Myeong (Korea, Computer Science, EAU)

Ik Myeong is originally from Korea, but like Taewon, he completed high school in the US. He reported that his parents had sent him to the US for high school in hopes that he would pursue a university education in the US as well. However, he did not choose to do this, moving back to Korea to begin his undergraduate education at a private, religious institution. This proved to be a problem for him, as he was punished for an academic integrity violation during his first year of study, which carried a punishment of expulsion with it. He was able to avoid this punishment by voluntarily withdrawing from the school, and subsequently, he sought to find a place at a university in the US. He initially was able to do this on the west coast of the US for an academic transition program, before ultimately ending up at EAU for his undergraduate studies.

Ik Myeong began his studies in Korea with a business major, and he continued this at EAU initally. However, within a year, he decided to switch to computer science. He reported that he did this because he had never felt like business was his own focus, although he recognized that it was a popular major that was acceptable to his parents and friends, saying that he "could just say 'I'm gonna study business' and everyone would be like 'oh, yeah, that's alright,' you know, and then everyone is happy." Computer Science was his own choice, one which was more fun and more in line with his interests in games and programming. During our first interview, he

reported that he was having some second thoughts about CS as a career, but not as a major; during our second interview, he mentioned that he was actively working towards getting accepted at a law school. Law school, he explained, was what he finally found to be a good match between his interests and the working world.

Ik Myeong reported that to him, academic integrity simply means "following the rules- not plagiarizing and not cheating." A violation of academic integrity to him was "willingly breaking the rules, like you did it on purpose." Initially he stated that he was comfortably familiar with EAU's code of conduct. However, towards the end of our interview, he changed his response and said that as we had talked, he realized that he had never read the code, and that his feeling of familiarity came from his experience of being accused of cheating and dealing with the aftermath. He reported that in his case, he has been accused of cheating on an exam by using notes on his cell phone; however, in his particular case, which he acknowledged to be one a violation of academic integrity, he just received an F on the test and a warning not to cheat again. He compared this to another student who did the exact same thing and who was asked to leave the school.

This prompted him to talk about his views on the fairness of how AIVs are dealt with at EAU. He stated that while he felt the overall process for dealing with student AIVs was fair, on the whole, the institution did not deal with things fairly. He spoke about how the process established at EAU, to his understanding, allowed for a fair hearing and an impartial decision about whether or not a student had broken the code of conduct. However, he noted that the process was only fair "once you are turned in to the office, you know, the honor code office… and most of the time, you

don't get turned in because either the professor doesn't want to deal with it or you just don't get caught." He reported that, in particular, teaching assistants (TAs) would very frequently overlook cheating among friends of theirs and only turn in students that they did not know for AIVs. He commented that

> the TAs were undergrads, you know, like seniors and sometimes juniors, and so they would just, like, help their friends sometimes and ignore their cheating, and then it was only people like me and, like, the Chinese students and the other international students that they would turn in.

When I asked him to clarify this further, he stated that "most of the time, they try to scare you about cheating at orientation, but you can get away with small stuff all the time, and you can get away with big stuff if you have the right friends." I asked him what he meant by small and big stuff, and he replied that small stuff would include cheating on homework assignments, which are worth a small portion of a final grade, or sharing notes with friends when not necessarily appropriate, while big stuff would be things like cheating on a final exam or plagiarizing on an assignment worth a large part of a final grade. Ik Myeong descrived this in the following statement:

> Some things are really, like easy to see, or I guess… Like everyone knows, OK, if you're sitting behind someone and he's cheating, like on a test, then you know. You can see it. So, yeah. And, OK, everyone helps everyone with the homework, but like the stupid homework. (Interviewer: Stupid homework?) Yeah, stupid homework. Like every week, you have to do some

> stupid homework, and everyone knows it's like no one cares, like 'oh, you just have to do it,' that homework. Like who doesn't cheat on that?

He further noted that "it's not right to do small stuff, you know, small cheating, but sometimes you just have to. But you know it's wrong." When I asked what he meant by this, he stated that "you know, even though I never really read the code, I still knew when something was cheating."

Ik Myeong was clear about how this did not mean educational institutions had no responsibility in teaching students about the code of academic integrity, stating that although most people are aware of basic concepts regarding cheating, some rules are strange and need to be taught to be understood. He argued that students should be held responsible for their actions, but "who comes to school knowing how to use APA or Chicago or whatever? That's like… I mean you have to teach us about stuff like that. You can't expect us to just know it."

He spoke about an instance where a student he knew was taking a test and was incredibly frustrated because he had never had any experience with an open book exam, Ik Myeong observed that

> he was freaking out, like sweating and nervous because he thought he had to answer all the questions on his own, and the professor had just like assumed we all knew it was open book, but this guy didn't and he thought the rest of us were cheating. I think he got a really bad grade on the test.

He stated that the professor could have avoided this by simply checking to make sure everyone knew what *open book* and *open notes* meant, and that it was not reasonable to expect a student to know this beforehand. Ik Myeong elaborated on this

in regards to what he felt was a lack of attention to what is openly being discussed in online fora, particularly Reddit, which he felt would be a useful source for information on what students are actually confused about and what they are doing in the classroom:

> You know, I've seen so much that people talk about online, even like on Reddit, where anyone can see it, and it seems like if you don't tell the professor directly, they just never know what is happening. And I even see people discussing that too. (Interviewer: Discussing what?) Like whether or not to tell a professor about how much cheating is happening on something. Did you see the thread about that here at EAU a few days ago? (Interviewer: Yeah, I did, actually) And everyone told that guy 'oh, don't talk about it, it's none of your business,' but I am just thinking, like, what if the professor just checks this subreddit? All they have to do is check the subreddits to see how much more cheating is going on. But I don't know, it's like either they just don't or, or maybe they do and they ignore it?

When I asked him about how he felt his perspective on academic integrity had changed over his time in the US, he said that it was really all about time. He stated that he had always felt that there was no time to do things when he was younger, and that this was what had led to his previous incidents of cheating. He reported that he wished

> that I could go back and tell myself that there's definitely time, you just have to plan it out more. Like I would wait and write a ten-page paper at the last moment, and then I would freak out and think about just copying from

> Wikipedia. But now I'm, like, just start writing like one page a day a few weeks before the paper is due, and you will be done before it's even due. It's all about learning to use the time right.

He stated that his perceived need to cheat was really more about being overly focused on grades and socializing, commenting that he felt that his initial perspective was that cheating was just part of learning and was not a big problem. He said that

> you know, in Korea, people kind of expect that young people might cheat, and then older people will tell them not to do it, so they learn. But I learned that it can be a way bigger problem than that, like even over in Korea I had to leave my school!

Ik Myeong tempered this statement later in reflecting on how important grades can be, noting that although he felt that cheating is wrong and that anyone engaging in cheating has an innate sense that they are violating rules, there is still an advantage to cheating: "Even though we always say cheating is wrong, cheaters never win, but actually, that's not really true. (Laughs) Because you can still get a good grade, and then it's kinda like you win."

With this said, I asked him what he would want to tell the administrators and teachers at EAU if he could tell them anything anonymously. He replied as follows:

> I would want to let them know how much cheating is happening on papers, because there are a lot of people who just look stuff up in their language and then translate it into English. I saw a lot of people do that and none of them ever got caught. I mean, sometimes people would brag about it, but I'm not going to snitch on them, but it's still wrong.

Zhu Fang (China, Computer Science, PSU)

Zhu Fang and I spoke only once, during which time he was very forthcoming about his experiences dealing with academic integrity in the US. Zhu is originally from China, but he completed his high school education in the US and took several language courses in the US over the summer before his freshman year of high school. He stated that his parents had always planned for him to pursue a college education in the US, and that he felt very grateful that they had prepared him for this from a young age. In contrast, he observed that many of his friends "really had a hard time. You know that expression 'fresh off the boat,' well that's my friends my freshman year, they had no idea about life in the US." When we spoke, he had just completed his senior year at PSU, and though the situation was complicated due to COVID, he reported that he was hoping to find a position with a firm in the local area working on web development. Zhu stated that while he hoped to remain in the US on OPT, he was also considering moving back to China and working on a new app of his design focused on finding colleges in the US best suited to Chinese applicants.

Zhu reported that he felt that academic integrity simply meant "following the rules. Just not breaking the rules and doing what the professors tell you." When asked what a violation of academic integrity was, Zhu reported that there are some things that are quite clear cut, such as "really obvious stuff, like bringing the answers to a test or copying someone else's paper, because that's just obvious for everyone." He explained that while certain things are clear and should already be known without instruction, he was very confused about a great deal of other violation types, owing to

a high amount of variation in policies from professor to professor and from department to department:

> So, I know (violating academic integrity) is breaking the rules. But it's like the rules kinda don't matter, because every class is different, every professor is different, even departments have different rules. So, like there's some classes every CS major has to take, and you can take it in Fall or Spring, and I remember I took this course in Fall and the professor was like 'you can work in groups on homework, just write all your names,' and my friend took the same course in Spring and it was a different professor who was like 'no group work ever!'

Zhu noted that this created problems for him later when he worked as a teaching assistant as well:

> So, when I was a TA, I didn't know the rules about cheating either, and my professor never said anything about it. And for me, I feel like some things are… I call it grey area cheating. So, one person says it's cheating, and one person says it's not, like group work or going to check GitHub[14] for code, you know. Everyone is doing it anyway, and if no one really is obvious about it, no one cares. But it still isn't… It's hard for me to say, you know? It's like it's grey area. So, as a TA, I basically thought that unless something was really obvious, I didn't report it.

[14] GitHub is a popular website which allows members to upload code, programs, and information about programming, all of which is used for sharing of code, providing information for job searches, assistance in school work, and other endeavors (Yiu, 2014).

Zhu elaborated more on his idea of grey area cheating, saying that this extended to his own actions as well:

> I don't feel like I have ever done anything like real cheating, but grey area, yeah. (Interviewer: Can you provide an example of that?) Yeah, sure. Um… I had this one class where the professor said the take-home quizzes are open book, so you can check on the internet and then do your answers, and I think we were supposed to work by ourselves, but my friend and I always did the homework together. It felt like it was probably breaking the rules, but it also was like the professor didn't care, and I think she knew some people were working together but she never said anything.

Zhu also stated that he felt the grey area was very applicable to how professors used the service Turnitin, noting that there appeared to be no clear definition of what percentage of similarity between assignments would count as cheating: "I had a few professors who told us that if you get more than this amount similarity score, that's cheating. But it was always different! Every professor had a different number."

When considering punishment for academic integrity violations, Zhu stated that "you should punish people when it's obvious, when it's like everyone knows it's wrong and you still do it." Zhu reported that this was the case in two situations he had experienced, one as a student and one as a TA. The incident he experienced as a student took place during a test, where he

> finished my test and I was taking it to the front of the class so I could turn it in. But I saw this guy in the row right in front of me, he was looking at his lap

> and I saw he had a paper with all the answers on it. And I remember I was thinking, like dude, I worked so hard for my grade, I studied so hard, I did all the work, and you are just ... anyone can see you are just looking at a paper. So, I put another piece of paper on my test and I wrote on it that I saw someone cheating on the test (i.e. I wrote their name), and then I turned my test in.

Zhu reported that the student he turned in had to retake the class afterwards, but also reported that he had no further contact with the professor of the class.

However, Zhu also reported that he felt PSU's standard punishment was problematic as it cast all AIVs in the same light, which he felt did not accurately reflect the severity of different AIVs:

> It's the same punishment if you pay someone to take your exam and if you just look at, like when you're taking an exam, if you look at someone else's exam. Same punishment. That doesn't make sense. It's like both things are the same. You have to think about why, think about the situation. Like maybe I look at someone else's test paper, right? What, is that the same as if I am paying for someone to write my paper for me? It's the same punishment, so, it is?

His experience as a TA involved finding a student turning in an assignment which was clearly copied from an earlier submission from another student who had lifted answers from a simple web search, which he commented on as being "just really obvious. The kid just took something from Google on the third page, and then he put his name on it and he turned it in. So, I turned him in to the honor council. I

didn't even tell my professor." Zhu stated that this action had been beyond what he considered the grey area, saying that "you can work with other people to do some homework, but you have to write your papers. You can't just take someone else's paper and say the paper is your paper. Everyone knows that." Zhu reported that he did not know what happened after he reported the case to student honor council, saying that he never spoke to the student whom he identified again, and that he never heard anything from the honor council in regards to the case.

However, Zhu also reported that in his experience, most instances of AIVs were either not detected by professors or were allowed to take place with minimal punishment, stating the following:

> Most of the time, it's just like people get a F on the assignment, or if the professor is tough, they're gonna give you an F, so now you have to retake the course. But I know for some, so in a couple of cases I know the professor actually sent people to student conduct. (Interviewer: Do you remember what happened to those people? The ones who went to student conduct?) Yeah, basically the same thing. They knew that, 'oh, I got caught,' so they just told the truth and had to redo the course. (Interviewer: Really? No XF?) No, no XF, because they never, I mean no one caught them before. It was the first time. (Laughs) It definitely wasn't the last time, but they didn't get caught again.

When asked what he would want to say to administrators and faculty at PSU, Zhu said that he would simply want to make sure that the rules of academic integrity were clear for everyone, not just students. Asked about this, he commented that

it's like all the rules that you hear about are about don't do this, don't do that, but only for students. You know? Don't copy, don't look for the answers on the internet, don't work in groups, except go ahead and work in groups when I say you should work in groups. That's just like saying 'hey, we say do it and you do it.'

Choi Songwon (Korea, Computer Science, PSU)

Songwon was a junior studying computer science at PSU when we spoke. He is from Korea originally, but because he has family in the US, he regularly visited the US over the summer throughout his childhood and spent one year of elementary school in the US, which he described as

> really cool and confusing. It was fifth grade in the US, so it was the last year for everyone else, so they were acting like seniors in high school. (Laughs) But I had to go back to Korea after that and do one more year before middle school, and I knew it! I remember thinking 'this sucks!' Like why do I have to do one more year? But it was still really cool because I made a lot of friends and I saw a lot of them later.

Songwon had to return to Korea for middle school but was able to return to the US for high school, to the same town that he had attended elementary school in. He expressed a large amount of thanks to his mother and aunt for this, saying that

> they had a plan, man. (Laughs) They had a plan. They knew that if I go over every summer, I'm gonna see all the cool summer stuff and want to stay there. And it definitely worked. I wanted to come over every summer, and after fifth grade, I was like 'when can I go back?' and then my mom was like 'you can

> go back for high school if you study hard in middle school.' So, I was really looking forward to high school over here.

Songwon reported that he was trying to obtain permanent residency in the US through his aunt, but that his application was still in process. He indicated that he was happy to stay in the US on a student visa, but that he hoped he would be able to remain on a permanent residency visa because "if you have a green card, you can go anywhere, and you don't have to worry about your job H1-B policy or anything. That's what I want. But I mean, look around us, right? I have to get what I can get." Clarifying this, Songwon stated that he was concerned about the state of visas and immigration in the US at the time, as he felt that "it's just bad, like it's… Like I know people who got their student visas denied, and it seems like it's so hard to get an H1-B now. So, I have to try for everything, and then I hope something works." He stated that he did not want to return to Korea, but that he would consider it as an option if he was unable to stay in the US, saying that

> I have options. I feel like that makes me, like… I can do things that other people can't do. I can stay here, maybe, but if I can't, I am not worried because I know I can probably find the same job and I will be fine. But I really don't want to go back and do my military service, especially right now.

Songwon reported that he paid very close attention to academic integrity, and that he had read the code of academic integrity at PSU many times to ensure that he understood it. He explained that it was important to know the rules. He stated that he felt that academic integrity means "just following the rules, the school's rules, the professor's rules, the [professional] field's rules. But it's also not doing bad work and

trying to improve yourself, because it's an important field and you have to advance the field." A violation of academic integrity, to him, was "breaking the rules. Not following the rules. But also, not following community standards, the standards of the field." He noted, however, that there are several sets of rules to follow, and that they can sometimes be contradictory, saying that he

> basically follow(s) the professor's rules, because he's the one who gives you the grade, and if it's not clear, then I follow the school's rules. But then sometimes I have to follow the rules of the field, and that means groupwork. (Interviewer: What do you mean? Why groupwork?) (He laughs) Oh my god, it's so dumb! Like, every job makes you work in groups, you know. In the real world, you work in groups. But so many professors here just always say 'no groupwork' for assignments. It's so old and dumb.

Songwon discussed that this led to several instances of his own violation of PSU's code of academic integrity, which took place on homework assignments that were supposed to be done individually:

> I worked with my friends together on these homeworks. We all took one part of the assignment and did it, and then we got together and helped each other understand the part we did. Then we all went off and put the whole thing together by ourselves, so it didn't look like we cheated, just making sure it looked different, different words, that stuff. We all knew that there was no way we could do it by ourselves in the time frame we had, so the only way we could pass and get a good grade was to work together. (Interviewer: Do you think you could have done it by yourself if you had more time?) Yeah, I

definitely could, I definitely could have done a better job. But if I just look at the grade I got, hey, I did a good job.

Elaborating on this, Songwon reported that he felt that the various sets of rules he identified were sometimes competing with, and sometimes supporting, the different goals and needs he had in his studies. He reported that he felt that he needed to "get the best grades, because come on – we all need the best grades. Everyone wants to pass, yeah, but passing isn't enough for us in CS. You have to be at the top." This led Songwon to note that in his experience, students with the highest grades were often engaging in AIVs to gain them:

> OK, so actually, this is interesting. Everyone thinks that it's the students who have really bad grades that, like, they are gonna cheat. But actually, it's the students who are getting high grades who are cheating. It's the difference between a B and an A+, you know what I mean? So, I have to get the best grades, and everyone has to get the best grades, and we can't all get the best grades. So, it's like 'how can I get a better grade than everyone else?' So I have to find a way to get the best grade.

Songwon reported that this reflected what he saw in terms of cheating most frequently, saying that "they never get caught because why would you accuse them of cheating? So, they have an A in the class and they look like they do the work. OK, wow, they're doing a good job." Songwon spoke of one class in which he was fairly sure that a professor knew that either he or others had been cheating on the homework, but the professor chose not to take any steps to rectify the situation other than giving a warning to the class:

> They never accused me, but they could have. I know that my professor in (computer science class) was pretty sure that most of us were cheating, but all he did was just say, like in class, he said to all of us 'remember that you have to do your own work,' and one time he said that and then he was looking at me, like right at me. So, I mean I am pretty sure he knew (that we were cheating), but he never did anything else.

Songwon reported that students were not the only parties to this set of changing rules, saying that teaching assistants (Tas) were very aware of the requirements of courses and professors compared to the idea of the real world of work. He reported that

> there are plenty of Tas that will help you, if you ask them. I don't mean it's everyone, but I had lots of Tas that would like… so, if you go to their office and you say you are having a hard time with the homework, they just fix it for you. Not everything, you know, but if you are almost close or you almost got it, they just say 'hey, change this part and it's good.' So, are they cheating? I mean, if they help me, and it's they give me my grade, am I cheating? I don't think so.

Songwon stated that he felt that this was largely a conflict between professor and TA regarding assignments:

> For me, it seems like my Tas only did that when the assignment was dumb. (Interviewer: Dumb, yeah? What do you mean by dumb?) Like when it was 'do it by yourself' when it was supposed to be groupwork, or when they give us like a week to learn a new language (coding language). Like, hey, learn

> Java by yourself and do the homework in one week. No one can do that, and everyone knows that. Maybe the professors don't know that, maybe, but why not?

Elaborating on this, Songwon spoke about how he felt certain courses were structured in a way that leads to more cheating, particularly low-level courses required for his major which he felt were taught and designed poorly:

> It's like they care about when you cheat in (COURSE TITLES), but then they don't pay attention for other classes. (Laughs) It's like… I think it's like a wall, like get over this wall and then, okay, you can do anything. So really hard rules for (COURSE TITLES), and then no hard rules. It doesn't make sense. So yeah, for these stupid basic classes, maybe everyone is gonna cheat, because everyone knows this course is stupid, and it's not, like they're not trying to cheat. They just have to pass a stupid class. (…) If you have to cheat, then you have to cheat. I mean, you have to pass, right? So just give up? No, you're gonna pass. That's not the same as like, I mean it's not like you pay someone else to cheat for you on a test or something. You just have to pass because, OK, so really, it's the school tells you that you have to pass this course.

Songwon spoke of an incident that had taken place in the recent past that he felt was most representative of his ideas about different rules and different needs and wants, which revolved around his own actions. He reported that a friend of his at a different university had asked for help with a particular class test, saying that the class had used similar materials to what PSU was using. Songwon stated that he had

provided his test answers and study notes to his friend, but that afterward, he had grown concerned that perhaps this was a violation of the code of academic integrity. He stated that

> I was worried about it, so I looked through the rules. And I saw that they were all about what I do as a student here at PSU. There was nothing that said 'hey, don't help people at other schools.' So, the weird part is I feel like maybe this is cheating, but I also feel like I was just trying to help a friend, and then I check the code, and hey, I'm not cheating, but maybe my friend is cheating, and I just don't know. What the hell, I didn't cheat at PSU and no one can tell me I cheated, and… another school can't say I cheated and they can't punish me. So, it's like I cheated, but I didn't cheat, but my friend cheated, but he only cheated because of me. I think that's crazy.

When asked how his perspective on academic integrity had changed between starting school and now, he reported that he felt that his perspective had not changed on integrity, but rather on the value of homework and studying: "I kinda want to, like if I could talk to myself in freshman year, I would say 'just do the damned homework,' because the homework actually teaches you. Sometimes it teaches you way more than class. I actually learned more by myself from homework in a bad class than I ever did during actual class."

When asked what he would want to tell professors and administrators about academic integrity, he replied

> just let people do the groupwork. It's so dumb that they don't allow it. Just allow that and so much cheating will go away. It's like they don't know how

the real world works anymore, because maybe they have been teaching too long.

Wang Gao (China, Computer Science, PSU)

At the time of our interview, Wang[15] was a sophomore at PSU, though he had yet to actually set foot in the US. Like Yang, he has been attending classes remotely and waiting for the time that he might be able to actually attend classes in person. When we spoke, Wang reported that he was having a difficult time with this, stating that although he is connected with his classmates through group chats and discussion boards, he feels that he is missing out on real social connections and incidental learning through social interactions:

> If I could be there, I could talk to other students, just talking to each other without text messages, and I could maybe find friends. And I could see the professor, not just video. And I think there are some many things he would say in person that I can't see with video and discussion board. Right now, I'm just at home, I take classes, yeah, I'm in classes, but it's all at different times from other people, and the group chat is, like, I see messages, but always late. I'm taking the classes, but I'm alone, just here at home.

Wang reported that he had felt like his expectations for starting college had been completely against his reality, noting that his parents had sent him to Singapore for high school with the expectation that he would directly matriculate to a university in the US on graduating. He stated that he had planned on "go(ing) to an American

[15] Wang preferred to be referred to using his last name, something I have continued with this pseudonym.

university, like maybe I spend a couple of months at home and then I go. But I was there (Singapore) for four years, and then I came back to here (to China), and now it's two years here and I am still not in the US. It's hard." He stated that he hoped to attend classes in person as soon as possible, and that he looked forward to becoming part of the community and "actually meeting people, not just sending messages."

When asked what academic integrity means, Wang replied that it is "just following the rules. You just make sure that you follow the rules." Wang reported that he did not actually try to find these rules, though, saying that it was unnecessary for him because "I never cheat, because I don't have to. I do all of my work, I never copy. So, I don't need to read the rules." An academic integrity violation, to him, is "intentionally breaking the rules. Like you do it on purpose. Or, OK, maybe you don't do it on purpose, that's not as bad, but it's still a problem because you break the rule." Clarifying this, Wang stated that "you should know the rules, even if no one is telling you about them, because everyone should know some things, like don't copy, don't cheat, don't steal the answers." However, Wang then qualified this, noting that some rules are more difficult to learn than others: "you don't copy, but maybe you don't use the right way of saying where did you get this. OK, it's not bad, but it's still a problem because someone can say 'oh, he's cheating.' So, we have to learn."

Regarding what types of academic integrity violations he has seen, Wang reported that he has had limited experience with this so far owing to his lack of physical presence in the US. He commented that he felt that the majority of information about academic integrity and violations of the same was shared in conversation in person, saying that

in high school, it was like we all only say it in person, like one on one. Because it was, like it was scared... it was scary. We were scared. So, we… ok, so maybe teachers talk about it, professors talk about it on the syllabus or on test day, but we (students) don't talk about it, except if there is a problem.

With this said, he noted that he had seen certain things in group chats that he felt would count as academic integrity violations:

I see all the time people are saying, like, hey, what is the answer to the test questions when we do the test. And also about the homework questions, like right before the homework has to turned in. I never write anything, so I never reply, but I see a lot of other people reply, and then people say things like 'ok thanks!' so I know that some people are using this.

When asked about whether or not the rules of academic integrity are fair at PSU, Wang reported that he felt that they are fair, stating that "mathematically, everyone has the same chance to be accused of cheating. But that only works if the system is based on not prejudiced information." Elaborating on this, Wang stated that

if everyone follows the rules, then it can be fair. But it has to be everyone. It has to be students, professors, everyone. If they all follow the rules, and I guess if they are all telling the truth, then it's fair.

Wang reported that he thought it was fine to punish anyone who violated rules of academic integrity, but also said that any punishment should be appropriate to the violation. In explaining this, he said that "it should match, like it should be the same as the thing that they did. So, like if you do something and it's big, you get big punishment, and something small gets small punishment." When asked to elaborate

on this, Wang stated that "like big tests, big papers, the big stuff. Big grades, you know? Everyone knows that some things are big. And everyone knows that other stuff is small. So, big stuff gets big punishment, small stuff gets small punishment." When asked what big and small punishments are, Wang reported that he felt that a big punishment would be "like an F for the class, or like when you are, when you get expelled. When you get kicked out of university. Like that." A small punishment would be "maybe like an F on the assignment, or on the test. But that's all, just like in the class, not for outside, like not outside the class. Not making it for… Not on your transcript. Does that make sense? Like not any note on your transcript."

At the end of our interview, Wang stated that he was wondering about one issue that he hoped I might comment on. He explained that he and some friends of his had identified an area of college application for international students that might offer a business opportunity for computer science students, specifically concerning college application essays. Wang said that he had found that many college application essays were very similar, and that as a result, it would be easy to simply take certain personal details and insert them into a standard essay format that could change depending on the prompt, thus allowing a prospective student to simply provide details and allow an algorithm to write the actual essay:

> So, we made a program that will write the essay for everyone. All you have to do is add your information. Right now, you have to add everything, but we are working on (a programming model) so you can just add your resume or your CV, and then it's just add everything and make the essay for you.

Wang stated that he and his friends had realized that this was a major stumbling block for students applying to universities in the US and Canada, particularly through "the Common App(lication), so many essays are the same."

Wang reported that he was hopeful that this program could be helpful for prospective students, but also that he was worried that there might be possible academic integrity issues with it. We discussed the problems of visa fraud and how this might affect students, and I also advised Wang that he would need to consider federal visa regulations in both the US and Canada before starting to offer such a service. Upon hearing this, Wang stated that he was surprised, because he was personally familiar with many people who wrote such essays for students applying to universities in Canada and the US and he had never heard of any of them having any problems. He reported that

> it's not part of the code (of conduct), like it's not cheating because you're not in the school, you're not just making it up, it's your story, you know… Everyone gets help with their essays, but that's costing a lot of money, so I just thought this is an easier way, maybe it's cheaper so more people can use it.

I asked Wang once more if he would like to say anything to administrators or faculty about academic integrity, to which he replied that he felt that

> it's okay, because we need to know the rules, because we are students and we need to know the rules, so I know that, but I also… So, like, it's okay to punish, I mean, you have to punish when someone cheats. But… So I'm still confused. Like I still think my idea is good. I think it's good to, like, get an,

> get some help for the admissions essays. (Laughs) I guess I just feel like I never want to cheat, but now you are saying that maybe my idea is cheating. So I guess I just want to say to the teachers and the deans or the rules, the people who are making the rules, like I want to say that we should all know what are the rules. I mean, I feel bad now, but I also feel like maybe I should not feel bad, like maybe I am, maybe… Like how am I not know that? I did everything what I am supposed to do, like orientation and all the session and everything. Like how do I am not know that? I should know that. (Pauses) I guess I just want to say that. Yeah. I should know that, but I don't know that, even though I thought I learned it.

Guo Ming (China, Computer Science, NAU)

Ming came directly over to the US as an undergrad to study computer science at NAU, and had a sufficient TOEFL score that he was able to go straight into the program. This meant that he never took supplementary English courses or pre-college courses, and it also meant that he was pushed straight into the culture of academic integrity at NAU, something which he reported that he felt was surprising and eventually "scary and basically just always feeling fear about it. Because I felt like you never know if you are gonna be said, 'ok, you cheated, so now you have to get out.' I guess I'm still frickin' scared." Ming reported that he simply wanted to have the opportunity to really work on app development and creation of new apps, and that because of this, he was willing to deal with fear and uncertainty, saying that

> yeah, I have to be scared about the rules, but those rules don't mean I have to stay in my room. I can make my programs and write my code, and I can still

try to find some company that is wanting to do the… use the program I made and do something new.

Ming reported that he intends to stay in the US after finishing his degree precisely because of the opportunities he will have to develop new applications and create new businesses:

Americans think about immigrants, like they're gonna steal their job. (Laughs) Yeah, because they freaking work harder! Because every time, if you give them opportunity they're gonna shine through. They're gonna contribute more, right, so not only we're contributing to the economy during college, by, like, spending on like living costs or tuition fee, think about in the future, if we like, after graduation, when we get a job, how much we can contribute to the society? Think about other tax money, think about all the… even think about like patents, inventions.

Ming explained that academic integrity is something that is both dedicated to the field of computer science and also to the specific rules of the school, noting that

we have to be honest and we have to be honest about our… we have to be honest about our work, and we have to show that what we did with our work, because we have to make new applications and stuff. And how can anyone trust us or make our stuffs better if we don't be honest? But it's also because… ok, maybe it's you have to follow the professor's rules, too, and you have to follow the school rules. But I think it's being honest and it's for making discoveries to really do academic integrity.

He was clear that this sometimes meant not availing himself of certain resources even when they are permitted by professors, stating that "sometimes, even like on a test a professor will say 'it's okay, you can just look it up' for some small things, but I feel like I can't do that because I should already know it, so to me, it's like cheating myself."

When asked about the details of discoveries and innovation, Ming replied that what was most important was being honest, saying that "real academic integrity is being honest. It means to be very clear your research, how you do it, what you think it means. And you have to write it so other people can see and they learn." Ming explained this by stating the following: "I can't do something when it's impossible. No one can, right? But we can all look the other people, and we can see their… what they do. And then we can think about what they do."

Ming commented that though honesty is extremely important to him and to the CS field, it could be to the detriment of grades sometimes. He spoke of a time when he was

> doing a big coding project and it's boring. It's so boring, and it's so easy to make one mistake and now you have to find it and you have to look for it for a long time, and it just really sucks. But I know, to me, I have to do it. Because I have to learn, and even though I can just go to GitHub and probably I will be able to find the code, like if I do that, then I don't know how to write the code by myself. And you know, like, what about if there's no GitHub? What if GitHub doesn't have the code that you need? I'm gonna have to write it.

However, on turning his work in, Ming received a B grade, while many of his friends received As. Ming was conflicted about this, saying that "(my friends) all say to me, like, 'why are you working so hard? Just use this site for the code,' and even they make fun of me for not getting an A."

When I asked Ming how he felt about receiving lower grades under such circumstance, he reported that he felt angry, but also more motivated to focus on the future, saying

> of course, I want all As, because I'm Asian! You know the joke about Asians? (Laughs) I mean, everyone wants As, you want a 4.0 GPA, but if I have to choose a 4.0 or actually being able to code, I… OK, you know, I want both (laughs). But you know, is Google or Facebook gonna hire me if I have the 4.0? No! They're gonna hire me if I can show them I can work. So, that is what have to do. So, if my friends are getting perfect 4.0 because of cheating, fine, you know, enjoy your time now, because I'm gonna have a job and no one is gonna care about your 4.0.

However, Ming also noted that in some cases, the opposite would be true, because for some of his friends, the degree they are pursuing is a means to an end. These friends of his are here "because of their parents, not because they really want to be here. Like they know they need the piece of paper. They're here, but when they go back to China, they already have a job at their father's company."

Ming mentioned that he saw a great deal of cheating taking place around him, and that this was particularly the case for those friends of his who he felt were only at NAU for the "piece of paper:"

> You know, before I came here, my friend told me it's so hard to study in the US, you can't go out every night and hang out, there's so much homework. And I didn't believe him until I came here, and I see for myself there's so much work. But these guys (his friends) don't want to do that, like study all the time; they want to have a social life and have fun. Because for them, it's just a piece of paper. You know they actually brag about it sometimes. No, seriously! They say 'oh Ming, what did you do last night? Study?' and they laugh and they talk about how they just pay some money and get someone else to do their homework, so they can go to a club or a bar. Sometimes they brag like 'oh, I don't have to do any homework because I can pay for all of it,' and it's like they try to show off they're rich.

Ming also reported that he saw a great deal of copying of code from GitHub, which he said was rarely caught. He stated that "it's really easy to just put some code in there, like hide it way down in some junk code[16], and it's really hard for someone else to find it. So, you know, how much time do you want to spend to find it? I think the professors don't care that much just because it takes too much time." He also stated that after the switch to online classes during COVID, he found a great deal more cheating taking place on tests, saying that "it's all online, so sometimes I'm taking the test and I get a message on WeChat from my friends and they're asking me for the answers, and I'm like 'no, do your own work,' but I guess they ask someone else for the answers."

[16] Junk code refers to lines of code in a computer program which do not actually do anything, but which do take up space and obfuscate where actual code commands are.

When asked about his thoughts on how fairly his institution treats issues of academic integrity, Ming stated that he felt that although NAU did a good job of ensuring that students knew that academic integrity was important and that they knew rules for proper attribution of sources, on the whole, the way that academic integrity violations are treated is very unfair. He reported that

> we all have to take this class that tells us that cheating is really bad, like you can get kicked out for it, and then they make us practice the references, you know, so we know how to do it in our papers. We practice the list of, like the list of sources, you know, A to Z and year and all the stupid stuff. So, we know that, okay, how we need to write the papers. But that's us, it's the students. You see? We learn about how to do it, how to write papers, how to avoid cheating. But it's just us. (…) So, now I see some people are punished for cheating, and some people are just go ahead, like not… not punished for it. They do the same thing, but some of them are punished and some of them have nothing happen. And it's not because of us. It's because of professors.

Ming stated this again later, saying that "different professors are always checking some people and never checking other people. Like especially with high grades, no one thinks they are going to cheat, but I see them cheating all the time on homework."

Following up on this, when asked if he wanted to see cheaters punished, Ming replied that he did not feel like punishment should be the focus, saying that "it should focus on the situation, and it should be focused on what happened and what they need to learn. So, if punishment is gonna help, then okay. But don't punish for everything."

Ming noted that he felt particularly scared about academic integrity at NAU based on the cases of punishment that he had seen, commenting that

> I saw six people that got kicked out. I did, I heard the stories for most of them and I saw that how strict they (NAU) were about who you can talk to, where you can play games, what you can use on the internet. But every time, it was like they didn't want us to know that they kicked out a person. (Interviewer: Who didn't want you to know?) The professors, the school, all of them. They all were like 'hey, be careful, don't break the rules,' but then when someone got punished for the rule breaking, they were like… they wanted to keep it a secret. They didn't want us to know.

However, he reported that this did not necessarily take place when accusations were being made, telling a story of a student in his class who was taken aside at a party:

> Actually, I saw it one time, because we had this party for the end of the class, and it was the whole class and we had pizza and stuff, and the professor said to one guy 'hey, come to my office to talk,' but it was really awkward. Like, why is he doing that right now? So, I went near the office with like two other people from class, and I hear the professor say something like 'this is terrible, it's so bad, and we don't accept cheating here. You're gonna need to leave,' something like that. And the professor's door was open, so anyone could hear that.

Ming stated that this left him feeling bad for the student in question, as news spread throughout the rest of the class immediately as a rumor, with no comment

from the professor or any other school official. When the accused student did not return for the following semester, Ming reported that "it was like you don't talk about this. No one said 'don't talk about it,' but you can kinda see people's face, like 'oh, he's gone,' and then like looking down, and it felt like they were scared. I was scared."

Ming reported that despite this, he felt that students accused of cheating were almost always guilty, saying that "if you get accused, yeah, you probably did it, or you did something. (Interviewer: Have you ever seen anyone accused of cheating that you knew was innocent?) No, never. The people who get kicked out, they all did it." Mentioning his earlier statement, Ming said that being guilty of something did not merit the type of punishment he had seen, particularly for those students who had been expelled from the university:

> I guess I want to say that, don't be so harsh, don't be so strict. If you cheat on a big test and you know you did it, okay, that's okay to kick someone out of school. But how about when someone doesn't speak English very well, and maybe they didn't understand the instructions for a paper, and then a professor says it's cheating? Then you are supposed to kick that person out of school too? I think you better teach that person.

When asked about what he would want to say to faculty and administrators about academic integrity, Ming stated that he would want to make it clear that

> We're gonna get kicked out if we break the rules, so maybe you should teach us the rules better, that's all I mean. Like don't just say 'ok, you cheated, so you are expelled.' You know, don't do that, let us try again! I mean, even

though I never cheating, I still feel like it's not fair. You have to be, like you have to focus on did you tell us these are the rules? If you didn't, then maybe you need to think about did you focus more on "oh, you need to get a job" or "oh, you need to be honest and do good work."

Chapter 6: Cross-Case Analysis

I included the participants in this study based on their common characteristics; however, as seen in the descriptions of each participant, it is difficult to ascribe the experiences and thoughts of each participant to one of their shared characteristics. Their experiences with academic integrity are quite varied, as they experienced different standards under different departments, administrators, and professors, and also as they took multiple roles in their studies and work experiences. Their pathways towards study in the US differ, as do their possible pathways forward in their studies or work lives. With this said, using the characteristics specified in this study, three main comparisons can be made among participants: major, school, and country of origin. These will form the basis of the differences noted in this chapter.

I have grouped participant responses here into four main themes which I hope capture the main ideas participants expressed in this study. These themes focus on familiarity with academic integrity, responsibility for awareness of academic integrity, considerations for punishment, and personal experiences and reflections on academic integrity and its violations.

Definitions of academic integrity and its violations

One key theme and main object of this study was how participants defined academic integrity and its violation, something which the first two questions of the interview guide detailed (see Appendix 2). Several aspects of this related to the formal definitions of academic integrity established at the institutions that participants attended, as will be shown in the following section.

Defining academic integrity

Participants generally did not define academic integrity in any positive sense. Notably, fourteen of fifteen participants defined academic integrity as either "*not* cheating," "*not* breaking the rules," or "*not* plagiarizing." Only one participant, Liang Xia, answered by first stating that academic integrity means "following a moral code." In each case, the definition of academic integrity revolved around a transgression of academic integrity, such that the concept itself was never present on its own except for Liang Xia. I followed up on this with several participants, asking them a bit more about academic integrity apart from violations, but in each case, participants responded with a rephrasing of one of the statements above. Lee Taewon, when asked to be clearer about what academic integrity is, simply stated "students should just do assignments or take tests honestly without cheating."

When asked to define an academic integrity violation, participants gave nearly the same answers as above. Five participants mentioned plagiarism, seven mentioned "breaking the rules," and four mentioned cheating. Once again, only Liang Xia had a different response here, characterizing an academic integrity violation as cheating, but also stating that it is "lying and trying to game the system… (that is,) knowing that something is wrong, and you do it anyway because you know you will get a better grade." Thus, these three ideas – plagiarism, cheating, and breaking rules – served as the definition of both academic integrity and its violation.

However, an interesting difference was present among participants from the two major groups, as business majors tended to immediately mention plagiarism

when asked about both AI and AIVs, while CS majors tended to focus more on violation of community standards and rules. Of the nine business major participants, five spoke of plagiarism as the main definition of an AIV, while four mentioned plagiarism and either breaking rules or cheating as a key part of their definition of an AIV. This was reflected in these participants' stories about what little they had been told about AI in their orientations and during their courses, as well as how instances of suspected plagiarism were treated. Liu Yan noted this as being fundamental in her pre-university EFL courses, as well as her subsequent understanding of proper attribution as being a method of community building, while Wang Mei, Yang Li, and Park Kildong all focused on how their professors had placed strong emphasis on not plagiarizing and on harsh punishment for any instances of plagiarism. Kildong's story, in particular, serves to highlight how one instance of plagiarism was the cause of subsequent punishment when seeking out letters of recommendation.

CS majors, in contrast, focused on ideas of intent, purpose of assignment or project, and the idea of community standards or upholding standards of practice in their answers. Out of the six CS major participants, five defined an AIV as intentionally breaking a rule, with three specifying that such rules do not necessarily need to be institutional rules to still be real and binding. Only one participant, Taewon, mentioned plagiarism in his response. Both Wang Gao and Kim Ik Myeong were terse in their descriptions of AIVs, stating that an AIV was an intentional violation of a known rule. However, Wang also stated that even when a rule is unknown or unclear, violating it would still be an AIV, though not to the same degree as having knowingly violated a rule. This is very present in the statements that CS

majors made regarding the nature of the rules in their field versus the rules at their institutions, with all CS majors stating that institutional rules surrounding groupwork were problematic. Notably, Park Kildong and Choi Songwon were vocal about how groupwork rules are practically designed to be broken, and how while breaking such rules was definitely an AIV, it was not as serious as other AIVs such as intentionally submitting someone else's work as one's own. Guo Ming notably stated that upholding the standards of the field of CS above those of his institution was important, and that if following institutional rules meant that he would knowingly violate the standards of the field, he would not follow institutional rules.

Institutional codes of academic integrity: Awareness and responsibility for awareness

One consistent statement from participants was that they were not familiar with the code of academic integrity at their institutions, with thirteen of fifteen respondents reporting that they had either never read the code of academic integrity at their institutions or that they did not remember the code. Initially, Kim Ik Myeong reported that he was familiar with the "code of conduct" at his institution, but over the course of our interview, he changed his mind, stating that he simply felt that he was familiar with it since he had dealt with punishment for his own academic integrity violation. This is closely mirrored by participant statements that little attention was given to teaching the codes of academic integrity at their institutions, and that if given the chance, they would want to tell their professors and administrators to spend more time ensuring that the code of academic integrity be taught and understood.

Notably here, four participants reported that they had been accused of an AIV at their institutions, and all four also reported that they were still unfamiliar with their institutions' code of academic integrity. Zhang Wei spoke of this, noting that she felt that even after having to deal with the full process of adjudication for an AIV at PSU, she still felt that she had no better understanding of the code of academic integrity. Ma Qiang likewise felt that even through her extensive experiences dealing with an accusation, she never gained an understanding of the code of academic integrity, further noting that there did not seem to be any emphasis on teaching the code of academic integrity and that the process of adjudication felt more spiteful than educational. Indeed, all four participants who had been accused of an AIV reported similar feelings of the process not being as educational as it could be, with only one, Park Kildong, reporting that the process had taught him a valuable lesson about academic integrity. Kildong actually reported that the lesson he learned was more cultural than anything, noting that without the harsh consequences he had faced, he would not have understood how seriously plagiarism was taken in the US, but even he reported that the adjudication process needed to better align with student learning and growth rather than punishment.

In an interesting contrast, the two participants who reported that they were familiar with their institutions' codes of academic integrity were unique in that one, Choi Songwon, specifically used the letter of the code of academic integrity to justify actions which may not be ethically or morally acceptable, and the other, Yang Li, was tasked with reworking the code of academic integrity at his institution as part of his position in student government. Yang reported that he only read the code of academic

integrity at his institution because he had been tasked with providing input on it, and that had it not been for this responsibility, he did not think he would have ever read the code. Songwon, as mentioned, was very clear in stating that he studied all codes of conduct in his field – notably those of professional societies, that of his institution overall, that of his department, and those of his professors – to ensure that he could find one that justified his actions whenever possible. Songwon took this as a reasoned approach to actions which could be considered unethical or violations of academic integrity, presenting one action he took which, while he considered it to be unethical, did not actually violate any code of academic integrity in his field or at his institution that he could find. Songwon reflected on this, noting that the code of academic integrity at his institution did not apply to many real-world scenarios and needs; he stated both that very few people he knew actually understood the code of academic integrity and that none of his professors had actually tried to teach the code in class.

Indeed, all participants reported that they felt their institutions had a particular responsibility to teach them the code of academic integrity, with Ma Qiang expressing that she felt that students were being held responsible for following rules that they had never learned and could not reasonably be expected to understand without help in the form of formal instruction. Participants reported that they felt that there was responsibility to practice and learn academic integrity on all members of the academic community, which could best be summarized by Yang Li's statement: I do think the responsibility falls on both sides, (…) but it's like professors need to… They can't just expect us to know. They have to teach us the rules too."

However, while all participants said that institutions had a responsibility to educate students about rules of academic integrity, there was a difference between responses of Chinese and Korean participants regarding the level of responsibility of institutions educating versus students learning about the rules for AIVs. Nine of ten Chinese participants indicated that professors and institutions were most responsible for ensuring that rules surrounding AI and AIVs were clearly understood by students, stating that they felt that students lacked a clear understanding of AI and AIVs owing to their professors' paucity of explanation of such rules and standards.

In contrast, all four Korean participants stated that while institutions and professors needed to provide information regarding rules of AI and AIVs, primary responsibility for learning and practicing rules of AI rested with students. These participants reported that the primary responsibility of their institutions was to make sure that the code of academic integrity was presented and made accessible, and that it was discussed regularly in classes, though not necessarily explained in detail. Choi Songwon explained this by noting that his institution made the code of academic integrity easy to find and read, and by saying that he felt that the institution was not trying to hide the information but rather make it decently accessible to anyone who chose to look for it. Kim Ik Myeong reported much the same, noting that he felt that a great deal of the AIVs that take place were things that students should already know to be wrong and that because of this, there was little need for institutions to do more than make the code of academic integrity available for students to read.

Awareness and adjudication of AIVs

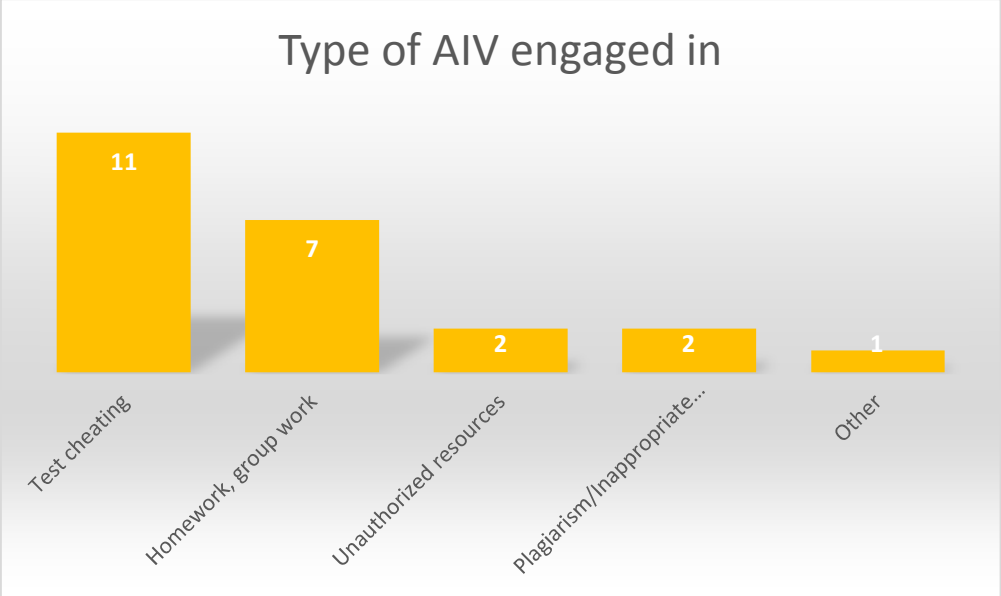
One key area of focus of this study was whether participants felt that those around them were aware of it when AIVs were taking place. However, another area came to figure into this clearly, which was how, when, and why AIVs were adjudicated, and how this figured into overall awareness of AIVs. Participants noted that there were large differences in the awareness of AIVs among different groups in their institutions, particularly between students and professors, but also between TAs and professors and, to a lesser extent, administrators, as Ma Qiang spoke of. Notably, participants spoke of how varied responses to AIVs can be depending on context, while also speaking of how few cases of plagiarism they had actually seen compared to other forms of AIVs, and also noting that despite strong admonitions and fears of being expelled or losing visas, most penalties for adjudicated cases involved a non-passing grade on an assignment or a lower grade in a course. The following sections will elaborate on this theme in more detail.

Common AIVs and their penalties

In a contrast to the emphasis on plagiarism above, most participants did not report seeing or engaging in instances of plagiarism, though as Wang Mei and Li Ming noted, this could partly be due to the fact that plagiarism can be a very individual activity, one which is not talked about in group chats or other social media. Instead, most participants reported that the AIVs they had observed around them, or participated in themselves, involved cheating on a test, engaging in improper

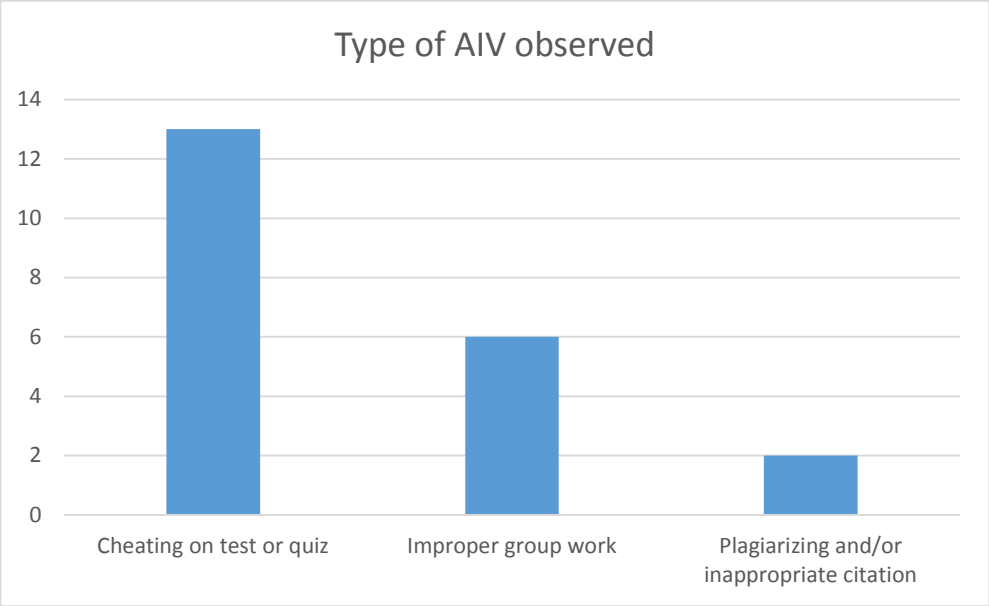
groupwork, or cheating on homework, with only two participants actually having seen or engaged in cases of plagiarism. This is detailed in the figures below.

Figure 1: Type of AIV engaged in



In considering the types of AIVs observed, it is important to note that participants spoke about the communication channels through which other forms of AIVs take place, along with the visibility of the AIVs taking place on tests and quizzes. Both Yang Li and Li Ming spoke of how groupchats were used to discuss homework and quizzes, as well as other upcoming assignments. However, both also noted that little discussion about behaviors which would count as AIVs took place in groupchats, noting that this would be something done through direct messaging instead. Liang Xia also commented that when her friends spoke with her about potentially engaging in "homework outsourcing," it was always one-on-one and not in groups. As such, participants themselves noted that the types of AIVs they observed were limited and probably did not reflect what was actually taking place, since they could only report on what they themselves had either seen or engaged in.

Figure 2: Type of AIV observed

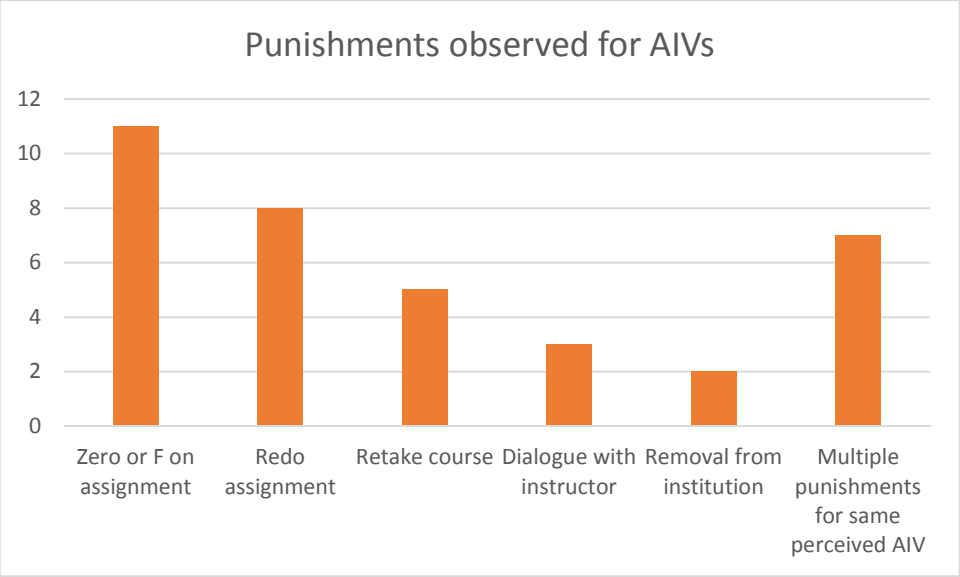


Interestingly, participants tended to report a difference between their feared consequences for an AIV and their actual experiences of seeing consequences for an AIV. Ten of fifteen participants reported that the consequence "depends on the professor" and "depends on the situation," and nine reported that they thought that the result would be "an F on the assignment or maybe for the course." Two participants- Guo Ming and Chen Fang- reported that the result of committing an AIV would be removal from their institutions, something which will be examined below, and three participants – Ma Qiang, Choi Songwon, and Zhang Wei – reported that their own experiences dealing with accusations of AIVs involved multiple factors, noting not only that their outcomes depended on the particulars of their situations, but also that there did not seem to be any logic to the outcome in their cases. Notably, Zhang Wei stated that she had used illicit resources on a test, for which she received a zero grade

on her assignment, but she then reported that a friend of hers who had engaged in the same behavior had received a failing grade in his course and a notation of cheating on his transcript, stating that "it [does] not make sense. Like, why does he have to take the course again and I am just fine?"

In total, though, participants reported that the majority of punishments for AIVs involved redoing an assignment, or possibly a course, rather than removal from an institution. This is detailed in the figure below.

Figure 3: Punishment(s) observed for AIV(s)



All participants reported that they had seen professors routinely deal with suspected AIVs on their own without communicating to their institutional offices of student conduct, something reflected in the larger number of lowered grades and redone assignments above. This was likewise the case for the three participants who reported that the only consequence for some suspected AIVs was a simple dialogue between the instructor and the student suspected of the AIV. Zhu Fang and Liang Xia, both of whom had worked as TAs, spoke about how there was a perception that

submitting a suspected AIV to the student conduct office was considered an escalation or a harsher likely outcome for a suspected AIV. This was also reported by Choi Songwon, who spoke of how his friends tried to avoid being sent to the student conduct office, if at all possible, and how professors seemed to not want to deal with the student conduct office.

The punishment that participants spoke of fearing the most – separation from the university – was largely absent from participant experience. No participants from either EAU or PSU reported having seen any student removed from their institutions as punishment for an AIV, though Kim Ik Myeong noted having seen a student removed in his prior institution. Thus, the idea of losing one's visa and being removed from school for an AIV, while understandable based on portrayals in popular media and rumors, was not something that participants actually had observed at either EAU or PSU.

In contrast, though, both participants from NAU reported having seen classmates removed from the institution as punishment for AIVs. Guo Ming notably reported that he had personally seen six students expelled for AIVs, while Chen Fang reported only having seen one case of this. Both Guo Ming and Chen Fang spoke of how fearful this made them, despite agreeing overall that AIVs should be punished, and students had an obligation to learn and follow the code of academic integrity at their institutions. Chen Fang spoke in particular about how his prior position in China involved finding and punishing AIVs, and how he had always tried to take a developmental approach where students would have the opportunity to learn from their mistakes. NAU's policy, according to both Guo Ming and Chen Fang, was a

zero-tolerance approach, something which they reported was emphasized in their orientations. Both participants reported that they felt this approach left them frightened of being accused of cheating, despite both participants reporting that they never engaged in any behavior which could be considered cheating.

Awareness of AIVs among students and faculty

As mentioned above, participants felt that awareness of AIVs depended on certain conditions such as the medium of communication used to talk about possible AIVs. Indeed, thirteen of fifteen participants spoke of how they had observed in group chats discussion of who had committed AIVs, as well as discussion of potential AIVs. These group chats, usually on apps such as Facebook Messenger, WhatsApp, WeChat, and GroupMe, are usually created by students in specific courses to allow for easy communication among each other without observation from a professor (Baker & Stirling, 2016).

Participants also commented that they felt that some types of AIVs were obvious, while others were not, noting that their classmates were aware of it when obvious AIVs were taking place, but not when others were taking place. All participants mentioned that they believed that test cheating and homework cheating were obvious and that their classmates were aware of it when these AIVs were taking place, since these actions were either easily visible in classrooms or through groupchats. Several participants spoke of how test cheating was seen as lazy if it was easily visible to others, noting how even professors seemed to be annoyed if such cheating was easily visible.

Other types of AIVs, though, were described as difficult for student peers to detect, particularly regarding papers or essays, as they are done independently and without supervision of others. Fourteen participants indicated that when a student commits an AIV of this sort, few people know of it. This was explained by both Yang Li and Li Ming as being due to the fact that such actions would not be discussed openly in groupchats or public fora. Wang Mei spoke of this as well, noting that when she made use of a contract cheating agency, the entire interaction was between her and the agency, and that she never discussed it with anyone else.

One idea that all participants reported was that students were far more aware of what AIVs are taking place than were the teaching staff and administrators. All participants stated that fellow students usually know when other students commit AIVs, as well as when they are identified as having committed AIVs. However, most participants reported that their professors either were unaware of many AIVs taking place, or they chose to overlook them. This proved to be a major difference between CS and Business majors, with CS majors reporting that while their TAs were often aware of AIVs, sometimes even allowing or committing them as well, their professors were generally unaware of it when students committed AIVs. All six CS participants discussed that their professors were largely unaware of it when students engaged in AIVs, while three participants reported that their professors seemed to not want to pay attention to AIVs except for a strong statement of condemnation at the beginning of class or before major exams.

Business majors, in contrast, reported that their TAs and professors were generally aware of the AIVs students committed, but that both of these categories of

instructors chose to overlook it. Five of nine participants here reported that professors did know that AIVs were taking place, but chose to ignore them, while of the remaining four, three reported that their TAs knew about AIVs, but their professors did not, and one reported that professors knew about all AIVs, but chose to only address the most serious ones.

False accusations as unlikely

One area which I had been quite interested in examining was whether or not participants had any experience dealing with false accusations of AIVs, as there is always the possibility of false accusations due to cultural differences or bias on the part of instructors, administrators, or TAs (Chandrasoma, Thompson, & Pennycook, 2006; Pennycook, 1996). Five participants reported that they had experienced or observed a false accusation of an AIV, while ten reported that they never had. Interestingly, all participants, including those who themselves had been falsely accused of committing an AIV, indicated that anyone accused of an AIV had most likely committed an AIV. Most participants explained this by stating that on balance of probabilities, it is more likely that someone accused has engaged in an AIV than not, and that being accused was largely due to either bad luck or "lazy cheating," going back to the idea that some AIVs are more visible than others. Wang Gao noted this clearly in stating that, mathematically, everyone had the same chance of being accused of an AIV, which meant that those who engaged in more AIVs or more visible AIVs would be more likely to be apprehended.

Notably, this reasoning was echoed by the two participants who reported that they had been falsely accused of committing an AIV, Yang Li and Ma Qiang, who both spoke of how devastating their experiences had been and how badly they had felt in the wake of the accusations; however, in follow-up interviews, both reported that in general, they felt that anyone accused of an AIV is likely guilty of one. Ma Qiang noted that, in her case, it was only the one instance where she was formally accused, but falsely, stating that there were many other cases where she could have been rightfully accused. Yang Li, who reported that he never engaged in any behavior which could be considered an AIV, also explained that when he was falsely accused, he believed that his instructor would not have accused him for no reason, and that there must have been some reason that made him suspicious.

Institutional fairness in addressing AIVs

While participants reported far fewer of the outcomes they feared most, and while they also reported that few accusations of AIVs were falsely made, they did not believe that their institutions dealt with AIVs fairly. All participants reported that their institutions focused on punishment as a remedy for AIVs, something which was noted in the codes of academic integrity of each institution. This was characterized by all participants as a mistake, with Ma Qiang stating that a focus on punishment was inappropriate and that a focus on shared understandings of AI should be the goal of institutional policies and practices. Yang Li notably reported that punishment of AIVs as a focus would be entirely appropriate, but only if every member of the academic community shared the same understandings of AI.

Regarding punishments, participants reported three perspectives. Six participants reported that the punishments for AIVs were arbitrary and inconsistent, as noted in Figure 3 above. This was particularly the case for Zhang Wei, who noted that her actions resulted in no appreciable consequence, while the same actions resulted in a failing grade for a friend of hers, leading her to question the validity of how both the rules surrounding AIVs and the punishments for the same were implemented at PSU. Liang Xia reported the same, as detailed in her accounts of how three separate incidents were dealt with completely differently with no seeming consistency or reason.

Similarly, five participants spoke of how rules regarding AIVs seemed to be either unclear or unexplained and how this meant that there did not seem to be any consistency in how rules were enforced. This is a small distinction from the previous framing, but one important difference is that these five participants focused on the lack of clarity surrounding rules of AIVs. Notably, Li Ming and Yang Li spoke of how a lack of understanding of the code of academic integrity among professors and students meant that there was little consistency in how rules were applied and enforced, something echoed by Chen Fang in his repudiation of the zero-tolerance policy at NAU.

In contrast, all four Korean participants reported that their institutions dealt fairly with allegations of AIVs, but this was tempered with an acknowledgment that the initial allegations of AIVs might be unfair. As Kim Ik Myeong noted, once submitted for an AIV, students had ample opportunity to receive legal counsel and present their own evidence and arguments in any AIV proceeding. However, these

participants reported that the initial allegation of an AIV could easily be unfair, something which Park Kildong and Lee Taewon spoke of specifically in noting that there were possible cultural biases among instructors in reporting AIVs.

Perceptions of the other and self, necessity, and cheating

Related to the above-discussed ideas of responsibility and awareness, several interview questions asked participants to consider their perceptions of others and themselves related to responsibility and AIVs, particularly in regards to a) how, when, and whether it would be acceptable to work with others who had engaged previously in AIVs, b) whether or not students had a responsibility to inform professors or other staff of AIVs, and c) whether or not external factors made cheating feel necessary. These will be examined in the following section.

Working with those who have engaged in AIVs before

Being perceived as a "cheater" was something every participant reported wanting to avoid, with eleven of fifteen using the words "I don't want people to think I am a cheater." Indeed, as mentioned before, two participants – Chen Fang and Guo Ming – reported that they were extremely afraid of both being labelled a cheater and being in a situation where they could be accused of cheating through association. Participants worried about carrying the stigma that would come with being labelled a "cheater," something which Ma Qiang and Park Kildong spoke of as being a real consideration in how they were subsequently treated by professors and peers.

However, all participants other than Guo Ming and Chen Fang reported that while they did not necessarily want to work with people who they know to have

cheated, they would still do so, and that in many cases, they had knowingly done so. Specifically, eleven of these participants stated that they knowingly worked with others who had engaged in AIVs. These participants reported two main reasons for this. The first of these relates to the balance of probabilities which was mentioned before, as most participants reported that since they had engaged in some AIVs themselves, the likelihood was that most others around them had also done so. Ma Qiang and Park Kildong both spoke of this in saying that by participating in groupwork, the likelihood was that they would be working with others who had engaged in AIVs, just as they had themselves. This same rationale was expressed by Yang Li and Wang Gao, even though both reported that they never engaged in AIVs themselves.

The second reason related to the fact that this involved individual responsibility, about which Liang Xia and Li Ming spoke. Both reported that while they did not want to be associated with persons who were known to engage in AIVs, they felt that the actions of others did not reflect on them. This was noted particularly by Liang Xia, who stated that while she never engaged in any AIVs, she did not feel that she had any responsibility or liability for others in her group who did so. Interestingly, while both Guo Ming and Chen Fang reported that while not wanting to be associated with others who engaged in AIVs, they also noted that if associated, such actions were associated only with the individual and not related to them.

Perceived necessity of cheating

The five initial participants in this study spoke about feeling an obligation to cheat in courses under certain conditions, particularly regarding how grades were to be determined. As such, I asked subsequent participants about this same idea. Participants reported nearly the same response, which was that cheating was ultimately an individual choice, but that certain circumstances could promote or limit such a choice. Several participants noted that they had heard their friends or other students speak about how it was impossible to pass a course or an assignment without cheating, but these same participants reported that they felt this was actually not true. Park Kildong spoke of this in noting that when he heard such stories from others, he felt that these others had made up their minds that cheating was acceptable, and that these stories were simply their ways of justifying their own actions. Even Choi Songwon and Ma Qiang reported that while they felt that their professors and course curricula had created circumstances that made cheating seem to be a better option than doing one's own work, the decision to engage in cheating behaviors was their own. Similarly, Guo Ming spoke of his refusal to engage in cheating even when doing so would have been substantially easier for him.

However, ten participants reported that courses that were graded on a curve made them feel that it was necessary to cheat, even though the decision to do so would be their own. These participants indicated that curved grades made them feel that they had to compete with their classmates in order to earn a top grade, and that because of this, they needed to gain an advantage over others in class. Notably, Ma Qiang and Guo Ming both spoke of how when others are actively engaging in AIVs

in a course graded on a curve, anyone who does not engage in AIVs is at a disadvantage. This was Ma Qiang's reasoning for why she began to use outside resources to complete her homework, as she felt that she was the only person not getting perfect scores and was thus at a disadvantage. Guo Ming also spoke of this, particularly how it meant that because he refused to engage in AIVs, he would never be able to achieve the grades that others around him could. Yang Li also reported that the closest he had come to cheating in a course was one in which grades were curved and he had done poorly on several tests. He explained that he was about to drop the class because he felt that he would not be able to pass without cheating. However, once the professor agreed to drop several low test scores, he was able to pass the class.

Informing on others

Honor codes have been proposed as necessary to limit AIVs, particularly by establishing an expectation that students will inform professors of any instances of suspected AIVs (Bertram Gallant, 2008; McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012). However, the presumption that students would inform on each other has always been problematic, as such an action goes against the bonds of community (Davis, Drinan, & Bertram Gallant, 2009). It was because of this that I inquired how participants felt about informing authorities about a suspected AIV of another student. In initial responses, all participants except for Chen Fang reported that they would not inform on a fellow student for cheating unless remaining silent would cause harm to themselves or to others around them. As such, in follow-up interviews, I posed the

question more directly, quoting the phrase that Ma Qiang and Wang Mei had both used in stating that they would not inform on others- "snitches get stitches." Among follow-up participants, all reported similarly that they would not inform on another student except under certain conditions. These conditions involved avoiding harm to themselves or group members, and also anonymity for reporting of AIVs.

Notably, participants reported that they felt that it was not their place to inform on each other because the decision to engage in an AIV was made by someone else, which meant that they did not have the responsibility to deal with it. This framing of an AIV as an individual choice echoes participant statements regarding responsibility for cheating above. Liang Xia and Li Ming, both of whom reported that they never engaged in AIVs, spoke of this in their responses, observing that although they were aware of a great number of students who had engaged in AIVs (some of whom had come to them for advice about dealing with the same), they felt that it was neither their place nor their responsibility to inform on these same students, as the responsibility for the AIVs lay with the other students.

This was tempered by participation in groupwork, where it was not entirely possible to assign individual responsibility to grade outcomes. Participants reported that in groupwork situations, they did not wish to inform on group members for any AIVs, but that also they did not wish to be penalized for the AIVs of others. Guo Ming spoke of this in noting that while he did not wish to inform on any of his group members, he still wished to send a message that cheating was not acceptable, something which he reported he did by making clear statements about how certain actions were not acceptable while looking directly at those group members who he

felt had been engaging in such actions. Park Kildong and Kim Ik Myeong reported less stringent versions of this, stating that they simply left other group members alone in their work unless they felt that the actions of others would affect them or other group members negatively, at which point they reported that they would try to address the issue by speaking with the other group member(s) first.

Participants were clear in how they felt that there were certain conditions that would need to be met before they communicated about any AIVs to authorities, rather than treating them as in-group issues. The first of these related to the idea of harming others or themselves, which participants spoke of as harming someone else's grade(s) or well-being, either physical or mental. Notably, Wang Mei stated how she felt that any threat of physical harm to another student warranted her intervention regardless of consequences, though she noted that she had not seen any situation that would warrant this regarding an AIV. Park Kildong and Choi Songwon both spoke of how they would inform on any student who was using the work of another without the other's consent, regardless of whether this involved an important grade, as it could possibly have important consequences later for the student whose work was used. However, Songwon also stated that he focused on the consent here, noting that if there was any indication of consent between the student copying and the student copied, he felt no reason to inform.

This was expressed slightly differently if the supposed harm was going to come to oneself. In this case, harm to one's own grade in the course was seen as sufficient to warrant informing on others, though this was tempered by a desire for anonymity. Multiple participants reported that they would inform on other students if

they felt that their own grade on an assignment or in a course was in jeopardy, but of these participants, only two reported that they would do so regardless of anonymity. Li Ming spoke of how she would easily inform on others if she felt her assignment grade was threatened, and Zhu Fang reported that he had actually done so in an exam. However, Guo Ming, Yang Li, Ma Qiang, and Wang Mei also expressed how they would inform on others only if they felt that they could do so anonymously. This was particularly notable for Wang Mei, as she commented that anonymity was not a concern for her in regards to the harassment she reported before. However, for what she termed "smaller" AIVs, which could affect her grades, she would want to ensure that anonymity was possible, as she feared that her informing on others could affect subsequent work, particularly groupwork. This was likewise expressed by Ma Qiang, who noted that while she would want to inform on anyone who cheated in a way that could cause her to suffer a lower grade, she would never inform on anyone else except on condition of anonymity. However, Ma Qiang also reported that she felt that anonymity was a "double-edged sword," as it was an anonymous tip that led to her own issues with the AIV adjudication process.

Personal Experiences and Reflections

At the end of each interview, I asked participants to reflect on their own experiences and learning about AI and AIVs, as well as any statements or requests they would make to the professors and administrations of their institutions. These reflections led to two key themes around changes in awareness of AI and AIVs, and a

desire to have more instruction and shared understandings of AI and AIVs at participants' institutions. The following section elaborates on these themes.

Changes in awareness of AI and AIVs

I asked participants to consider how their perspective on AI and AIVs had changed, if at all, during their time at their institutions. Participants responded to this in three main ways, with Liu Yang offering a very different perspective from all other participant. The first perspective, reported by five participants, was that they did not feel their perspectives on AI or AIVs had changed at all. These participants all reported that they thought that AI and AIVs involved simply following the rules of their institutions, something which they said they already knew before beginning their studies at their institutions. Notably, though, Wang Gao reported confusion at the end of our interview – although he still felt that his perspective had not changed, he did not trust his understanding of the rules of AI at PSU any longer.

Another group of five participants reported that their perspective had changed from being completely unaware to being scared of AI and AIVs. These participants had largely ignored AI and AIVs before beginning their studies, but that now they felt scared of the consequences of an AIV on their records. Guo Ming was very clear about this, stating that he had never thought much about AIVs because he is always honest, but that after coming to NAU, "it's like I have to worry about all the rules, because always the rules are different for different classes, and even if I am totally honest, maybe I will make a mistake and then I am kicked out." Liang Xia reported a similar sentiment, saying that in high school she never even considered issues of AI,

but that seeing how several friends had suffered negative consequences for what she considered a minor AIV made her conclude that she needed to rethink her understanding of AI, calling the case of her friends a scary situation. These participants reported that they had not really ever considered AI to be a priority in their education, either owing to their own total honesty, as with Liang Xia and Guo Ming, or owing to a perception that AI was not an important issue. Zhang Wei spoke of this as being like jaywalking, a rule-breaking behavior which is largely overlooked, but which can still be dangerous. Wei reported that when she was punished for her AIV, she felt like she had been jaywalking and had then been hit by a bus.

In contrast to this, four participants reported that they had thought they understood AI and AIVs before beginning their studies, but that they now felt that their understandings had been inaccurate and they had grown in their relationship with AI. These participants spoke largely of either their excessive focus on grades or their individualized perspective on AIVs, noting how seeking to get the highest grades possible led to an excessive focus on cheating seeming necessary. Park Kildong and Lee Taewon both noted how they wished they could tell their former selves that it was not the grade, but rather the learning which was most important, and that AIVs were really just their attempt to ensure grades at the cost of actual learning. Kim Ik Myeong also spoke of how he had always treated AIVs as an individual issue, but noted that now he felt that for groupwork, for group projects, and for classes graded on a curve, AIVs may be individual actions, but they have impacts on others, noting how the group can suffer if an individual tries to take unfair advantage of a situation.

Liu Yan also felt that she had grown in her understanding of AI and AIVs, but unique among all participants, she reported that she had gone from feeling scared to feeling comfortable and confident in her understanding of AI and AIVs. Yan reported that in her high school experiences, AI was treated in a very punitive manner, noting that she was so scared to get a citation wrong that she sometimes intentionally did not cite her sources. At EAU, though, she reported that a professor of hers had introduced the idea of citation as being about proper inclusion and community building, and of providing assistance to others in knowing where information comes from. She reported that because of this professor, she now feels that AI is actually an inclusive process, one which she feels proud to be a part of.

A call for shared understandings and more information

The last question in the interview guide asked participants to consider what they would want to say to professors and administrators at their institutions regarding AI and AIVs, provided that they could do so anonymously and provided that their words would have to be considered. Initially, I had expected a large variety of responses here, but instead, twelve participants stated they wished that their institutions had provided more information about AI and AIVs to students and had ensured that understandings of AI and AIVs were shared among students, faculty, and administrators. Perhaps most telling among participants was Li Ming's statement, as she reported a lack of interest regarding AI and AIVs throughout both of our interviews, noting that she had never paid attention to issues of AI or AIVs. However, when asked what she would say to faculty and administrators, she expressed that she

was the exact type of student that professors and administrators were not reaching regarding AI. Moreover, she stated that her lack of understanding or caring about AI and AIVs meant that better efforts needed to be made to ensure that students like her actually cared about and understood AI and AIVs. This was echoed by the majority of participants, who reported that they felt that their institutions had not provided enough training or information on AI, and that what had been provided felt like the bare minimum to ensure that students could be held liable for AIVs. Ma Qiang spoke of this particularly in regards to attending orientation, which she stated she would advise other students not to do for fear that they could be held liable for knowing AI policies which had not been well explained, but which could demonstrably be shown to have been presented to students.

Notably, though, CS majors took a slightly different view on this. While half of the CS majors reported the types of ideas presented above, all of them reported that they would want to tell professors and administrators that the punishments for and definitions of AIVs were inappropriately harsh and out of touch with the reality of work in the field of CS. Choi Songwon discussed this in regards to groupwork, saying that "you can't tell us that groupwork is terrible when we have to do internships at the same time and we have to work in groups to get out projects done." Zhu Fang likewise noted how the punishments at PSU seemed to treat very different AIVs as equivalent, with the same standard punishment for all forms of AIVs. These participants reported that authorities at their institutions should focus on promoting learning about AIVs rather than on punishing students for their suspected AIVs.

Chapter 7: Findings in relation to theories

In this chapter, I will present the main themes I established using the three theories included in my theoretical framework, specifically labelling theory, attribution theory, and cultural capital.

Labelling Theory

As noted before, Becker's (1963) labelling theory focuses on how behaviors and individuals are classified as either conforming or deviant, particularly noting how power differentials come to determine how labels are applied to different behaviors among different groups of people, and how "deviant" labels can be applied to certain behaviors and also to justify punishing others for such behaviors. The examination of how rules regarding so-called "deviant" behavior are created, how they are applied, whose perceptions of rules and their application are considered valid, and how these all interact in individual experiences provides a very important perspective on the following themes.

Relative seriousness of AIVs: "Big" and "small cheating"

All participants spoke of how certain types of AIVs were seen as less serious, while others were more serious. Six participants actually used the terms "big cheating" and "small cheating" to speak of this. They specified that big cheating would include AIVs such as using contract cheating services and copying or otherwise obtaining answers on an exam, or indeed an AIV involving any assignment which is a major part of the grade for a given course. This label lined up neatly with

participant responses to definitions of academic integrity, such that "big cheating" is nearly analogous to AIVs. Small cheating, however, would be any type of AIV that could reasonably be a mistake or misunderstanding, or which does not affect the overall grade in a course in a large way, particularly with items like weekly quizzes or homework. This label seemed to be used for actions that either were not perceived as true AIVs or were perceived as understandable and acceptable actions.

Participants consistently expressed that big cheating was problematic and merited punishment, noting that for some AIVs, regardless of any institutional responsibility to inform students of specific rules regarding AI, students should already be aware that such actions are wrong.

Small cheating, in comparison, was described by participants as something which generally merited remediation, but not punishment, owing often to misunderstandings of standards. Several participants noted how this applied with standards of proper attribution and citation, speaking about how confusing these were or continue to be for them. Several participants also spoke of situations which might be unclear and how these could lead to unintentional AIVs, particularly regarding the use of unauthorized resources and groupwork.

Overall grades and gateway courses

There is another aspect to "small cheating" that participants mentioned, though, specifically related to overall grades in courses or relative importance of courses or assignments. As noted above, small cheating is typically focused on assignments that do not contribute significantly to an overall grade in a course or on

courses that are judged to be not important towards obtaining a degree, though this was complicated by so-called "gateway" courses that are required, but seen as not important, to a degree. Many participants reported that cheating on assignments with low influence on overall grades in a course would certainly be an example of an AIV, but that it would also be understandable for a number of reasons.

Gateway courses[17] likewise figured into participant judgments of seriousness of AIVs, as several participants reported that they felt that cheating in gateway courses should be expected, and that it was thus an example of "small cheating." This was notably present for CS majors, where all six participants reported at least some measure of understanding for why AIVs would occur in gateway courses. Six of nine business majors likewise reported similar feelings.

Mismatch between big and small cheating and punishment

One interesting idea that participants brought up was the mismatch of perceived severity of AIV and the appropriateness of punishment for said AIV. Participants reported feelings of unfairness when they perceived that a given AIV was punished at a level inappropriate for its perceived "size," as well as when excessive effort was made in an AIV for a course or assignment that was deemed to have lesser importance. This is to say that "big cheating" was seen to merit big punishment or reaction, while "small cheating" did not merit the same.

[17] As presented by participants, gateway courses are lower-level courses which serve as prerequisites to continue on to higher level courses in their majors. Participants reported that they felt these courses to be poorly taught and poorly designed, with eleven of twelve aforementioned participants stating they felt that gateway courses were simply a way to limit enrollment in particular majors through attrition.

While it was participants that brought up the ideas of "big" and "small" cheating, these ideas have parallels in the codes of academic integrity at all three institutions examined. Specifically, both PSU and EAU use the terminology of "mitigating and aggravating factors" regarding the assignment of sanctions for AIVs, while NAU lists only factors which should lead to harsher penalties. Interestingly, the factors considered to warrant a harsher penalty at all three institutions contain the language "the severity of the offense," though no standard is specified for establishing severity. Other common factors among all three institutions include a prior disciplinary record, specifically any prior sanctions for AIVs, and a differentiation between undergraduates and graduate students, with immediate harsh penalties assessed for graduate students and students with "higher academic standing."

Interestingly, only PSU lists what it considers to be mitigating factors regarding assessed punishment for AIVs, which include a student's "present demeanor," any efforts the student has made to address the AIV, whether or not the student has accepted responsibility for the AIV, as well as "the conditions in which the alleged incident has occurred." PSU is also the only institution which lists aggravating factors specifically, which, in addition to the factors mentioned above, include the extent of malicious intent, evidence of planning or premeditation, and the relative importance or weight of the exercise or assignment for which the AIV took place.

Institutional codes of academic integrity thus contrast with student perspectives here, in that the institutions students attended had a clear focus on

aggravating factors and factors would lead to greater sanctions of AIVs. It is interesting to note, though, that PSU's code of academic integrity did note how contribution to an overall grade, in the guise of relative importance or weight of an assignment, was presented as an aggravating factor in the same way that participants spoke of; however, neither EAU nor NAU specified this in their policies.

Getting caught: Consequentialist and moralist perspectives

Another major theme focused on how participants spoke of AIVs through either consequentialist or moral perspectives, particularly regarding the visibility of a given AIV. The majority (10 of 15) of participants showed a consequentialist perspective on student AIVs, with a focus on outcomes of obtaining course grades, completing a degree, and obtaining a desirable job. This is to say that these participants took the position that AIVs should be judged based on the above outcomes for the student personally, rather than whether or not the AIVs actually are morally wrong or clear rule violations.

Course grades were a frequent focus in this perspective, as participants reported that getting a good grade through the commission of an AIV was either acceptable or understandable. This was supported in the discussion of the desire to simply obtain a degree that multiple participants reported, particularly in regards to how students who had committed multiple AIVs were still able to complete their degrees. While participants expressed ambiguous feelings about how others were able to complete and obtain their degrees, they also acknowledged that completing and obtaining a degree was an acceptable, or at least understandable, reason for engaging in AIVs. Finding work was a clear focus of justification of AIVs for several

participants, particularly through the lens of either passing classes or obtaining desired grades. Finally, there was the impetus for this theme, which was the statement from several participants that "it only matters if you get caught." Detection and punishment of AIVs were a concern of participants from the consequentialist perspective, and this is in line with Becker's (1963) idea that a great deal of effort goes towards avoiding deviant labels while still engaging in behavior labelled as deviant.

In contrast to the above, five participants adopted a moral perspective on AIVs, noting how they felt that following moral rules was paramount. These participants did not focus on the results of AIVs, but rather focused on whether or not AIVs were acceptable from a moral standpoint. These participants spoke of the importance of maintaining honesty and rule adherence in their own work, but they spoke of several situations in which their own morals were more important than stated rules. One persistent statement by these participants was a desire to remain honest above all else, regardless of what any code of academic integrity stated.

As noted previously, nearly all participants focused on AIVs as an individual activity, particularly in regards to informing on each other, with the consensus (with the exception of Chen Fang) being that they would not inform on other students unless a clear harm was going to occur to themselves or other students. As the codes of conduct at the three institutions all contain a provision that every member of the academic community is expected to uphold rules of academic integrity and report any observed violation of academic integrity, this meant that by not informing on their classmates, these participants could be viewed as facilitating or enabling AIVs.

Turning away from participant statements, as Becker (1963) noted, rules and their enforcement are often driven by moral entrepreneurs seeking to implement changes and label particular behaviors as deviant and undesirable. It is thus not surprising that the codes of academic integrity at all three institutions do exactly this, and that they do so from a moralist perspective. Each institutional policy begins by specifying the need for every member of the academic community to maintain the highest standards of academic integrity. This is to say that it is the responsibility of the students to know and follow the code at each institution, even in situations when the code is not clear.

It is notable that while all three institutions' codes label specific actions as being AIVs, they also all include language to specify that instructors and professors can use a label for an action that is not directly specified in the code, provided that the instructor believes that an AIV has taken place. As noted above, instructors are encouraged to define all their rules of academic integrity, but not required to, while students are required to understand and verify their understandings of instructor expectations.

Thus, the codes of conduct delineate a structure very akin to the moral entrepreneur's goal under Becker: a set of rules which are there to be followed, which allow for labelling of the actions of students to be deviant or inappropriate, and which the students themselves are responsible for knowing and following even in cases where there is no clear rule to follow.

Label as reality

Three areas participants spoke of directly about the power of a label to govern how and when rules for AIVs were to be applied. Becker's (1963) conception of labels, as mentioned before, puts forth the ideas of the "pure deviant" and the "secret deviant" (p. 20), two categories linked by how a label is applied to a given person or group. The pure deviant is the stereotypical image of a rule-breaker, the person or group who seems to fit the part, while the secret deviant is the rule-breaker who is never accused or found out, someone who is not identified (i.e., labeled) as breaking rules. To this, Becker also adds the category of the falsely accused, those who are not breaking any rules, but who are still perceived to have done so. The areas that participants spoke of here directly related to these, particularly regarding the idea of secret deviance and of how a label is applied even given evidence and experience to the contrary.

"High grade cheaters"

Becker (1963) noted how there is always the possibility of a secret deviant, or a rule-breaker that is not suspected as such. This would be someone who does not fit the profile of a supposed deviant, and it is this which nine participants spoke about in regards to how they had seen many students with perfect grades engaging in AIVs and never getting caught or accused. Choi Songwon used the phrase "high grade cheaters" to refer to those who, including himself, were able to maintain high grades, relieving themselves from suspicion of cheating while actually routinely engaging in AIVs. Participants reported feeling that their professors did not suspect students with high grades of cheating, even when these students were sometimes ensuring these

high grades exclusively through cheating, as noted by both Guo Ming and Ma Qiang in regards to homework grades. Furthermore, participants reported that professors gave these same students the benefit of the doubt when suspected of possible AIVs, either by saying and doing nothing or by simply hinting that these students might want to stop such actions, such as letting a student who was about to take a test for another student go without incident or staring at one student while making a general declaration that cheating is unacceptable on homework.

Accusation indicating guilt

Initial questioning about false accusations led to answers that suggested that participants had largely not observed false accusations against others for having engaged in AIVs. However, as mentioned previously, five participants who stated this subsequently reported that they had seen someone or had themselves been falsely accused of an AIV. As such, I made sure to inquire about this in subsequent interviews by asking whether participants felt that someone who was accused of an AIV was likely guilty of having done so. Eleven of fifteen participants reported that they felt that anyone accused of an AIV was likely to have actually engaged in an AIV, including all five participants who had seen a false accusation.

Participants offered two reasonings for this, both of which revolved around the idea that an accusation was likely the result of the longstanding practice of AIVs. The first reasoning was that an accusation was most likely for students who had repeatedly engaged in AIVs, students who Wang Mei termed “frequent fliers.” Among those who reported that they had been falsely accused themselves, this was

the one reasoning expressed. This was closely linked to the idea that there had to be a reason that a given professor would actually accuse a student of an AIV, even in cases where the professor is mistaken, and that this was likely owing to the number of times a student accused of an AIV had actually engaged in them previously. The second reasoning was that when AIVs appeared to be occurring frequently in given context it was likely that any accusation of committing an AIV was valid. This idea, as participants expressed it, was simply based on a balance of probabilities and personal experience seeing others engaging in AIVs and not being caught doing so by professors. Thus, while there was a possibility of a false accusation, these participants felt it not to be likely.

Languages other than English and AIVs

Becker (1963) noted how moral entrepreneurs often produce images and stereotypes of how a deviant appears or acts, focusing on how, in his study, marijuana users are depicted as having certain distinctive features which allow them to be identified, including overall appearance, habits, hobbies, and language usage. Language is a particularly tricky piece of any analysis of AIVs, as noted in the literature review, as there is an established issue with language development actions being perceived as plagiarism in a foreign language context (Pennycook, 1996). This became clear in looking at how participants reported on their experiences dealing with how the usage of a language other than English was perceived in the classroom. Participants in general felt that using a language other than English was perceived as either an example of cheating or an example of breaking community rules. Three participants referenced specific cases where they had themselves been told that

speaking a language other than English was unacceptable, with Lee Taewon reporting that a student failed a test for speaking to a friend in Korean and Ma Qiang and Park Kildong both reporting that their professors had told them that by not speaking English, they were being unprofessional and not part of their groups.

This led me to ask subsequent participants about their thoughts on how using languages other than English was perceived in their classes. Nine participants reported that they felt that there should be no problem with using languages other than English in the classroom, but all nine also reported that they had felt that anyone using a language other than English in the classroom was treated with suspicion – something that they felt was unfair. It is important to note here that while the interview guide focused on labelling and language as they pertained to international status, participant experiences surrounding language and labelling involved perceived anti-Asian bias, something which the aforementioned students spoke of both directly and indirectly. Several participants spoke of feeling singled out and treated as suspicious for speaking their home languages, noting particularly how they were told that not speaking English was unprofessional or went against being part of the group. Furthermore, Ma Qiang spoke of how this was applied only to the Chinese students in her classes but not those from other backgrounds. Wang Mei spoke of feeling that any use of Chinese was treated with suspicion, something which she spoke of as being prevalent in the wake of an incident at Duke University in which a business professor

told Chinese students that speaking Chinese was unprofessional behavior[18], echoing what early participants had noted.

Attribution Theory

As mentioned previously, three main areas of attribution theory are applicable to AIVs –the fundamental attribution error, in-group versus out-group bias, and the desirability bias (Kahneman, 2011; Nosek, Banaji, & Greenwald, 2002). These closely followed a concept which is core to the notion of attribution theory, which is the locus of control (Nosek, Banaji, & Greenwald, 2002). The locus of control is an idea that individuals tend to look for an anchor for agency and responsibility for a given action, something which the fundamental attribution error focuses on as well in a way that is very pertinent to participant responses in the classic example of "you dropped it, but it fell out of my hand." In this study, participants did not report anything which would correspond to either the in-group versus out-group bias or the desirability bias, with the exception of the possible presence of in-group versus out-group bias present in the usage of languages other than English mentioned above. However, the idea of locus of control, specifically the focus on external attributions, was a major focus in participant responses. This led to the following theme, which I have called the SEP Field in honor of Douglas Adams.

[18] In 2019, a professor at Duke University came under fire for specifically telling Chinese students to not speak Chinese and to use English at all times in any professional setting. See here for more: https://www.npr.org/sections/goatsandsoda/2019/01/29/689660523/duke-professor-is-sorry-for-urging-chinese-students-not-to-speak-chinese.

The SEP Field: Focus on external attribution

Douglas Adams (1979) created the idea of the Somebody Else's Problem (SEP) Field in his *Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy* series as a useful alternative to invisibility, as true invisibility required a great deal of effort and energy, while an SEP field required minimal effort and energy to be successful and long-lasting. Adams promoted the idea that an SEP field could be employed on huge objects, such that someone would walk up and over an entire mountain without noticing that it was there, since the field would cause everyone to think of whatever it covers as someone else's problem and thus beneath notice. This aligns very closely with both the idea of locus of control and the fundamental attribution error in two key ways. The first is that by conceiving of AI and AIVs as externally controlled (Nosek, Banaji, & Greenwald, 2002), it is possible to relieve oneself of responsibility for learning or teaching about AI and AIVs. The second is that by focusing on institutional issues when faced with individual responsibility, while also focusing on individual responsibility when asked to examine the responsibility of others (Kahneman, 2011), it is possible to conceive of AI and AIVs as always attributable to either a different person or an institution outside one's control; put differently, it can be cast as simply someone else's problem.

This was very evident in participant responses, as there were three ways in which participants described control and responsibility for AI and AIVs in a manner that left them without responsibility or with a lessened responsibility. These are listed below.

“I don’t need to learn the rules because I follow my own moral code”

Four participants (Liang Xia, Guo Ming, Wang Gao, Li Ming) reported that they felt that they did not need to pay close attention to the rules of AI at their institution because they made sure that they were always honest and moral under their own rules of morality. These participants also indicated that they felt that they did not feel a large responsibility to learn or follow any institutional notions of academic integrity, as this would either be superfluous or possibly not as moral as following their own moral code. Participants here all indicated that the rules of academic integrity applied most appropriately to those who were not as moral as they were, with Liang Xia and Li Ming reporting that their own friends preferred to turn to them for moral questions.

“The school is responsible, but it feels like the school takes no responsibility”:

Ten participants (Wang Mei, Li Ming, Zhang Wei, Yang Li, Liu Yan, Ma Qiang, Chen Fang, Liang Xia, Zhu Fang, Park Kildong) reported that they felt that while their institutions bore special responsibility for imparting the rules of AI to students, they did not think that their institutions actually did take responsibility for doing so. These participants did not state that students had no responsibility regarding AI or AIVs, but they reported that they felt that there was excessive focus on student responsibility, and that institutions tended to try to divest themselves of responsibility for educating students about standards of AI and AIVs. It is important to note here that the three institutions attended by participants have codes of academic integrity that do tend to focus on student responsibility.

“They don’t bother with the rules, so why should we?”

Eight participants (Liang Xia, Zhu Fang, Lee Taewon, Kim Ik Myeong, Ma Qiang, Wang Mei, Zhang Wei, Choi Songwon) reported that they felt that other members of the academic community, particularly professors and administrators, either used questionable means to create tests or assignments or engaged in questionable practices surrounding scholarship or administrative duties, and that, as a result, they felt that students had less responsibility to follow codes of academic integrity. All eight participants reported that they saw professors reusing assignments and tests multiple times without making updates, while six reported that they saw professors using test banks[19] for important exams and assignments. Beyond this, five participants reported that they had seen professors or administrators manipulating the rules of academic integrity at their institutions in a way that meant either that some students would be accused of AIVs while others would not. These participants reported that these actions led them to feel that rules surrounding AI and AIVs were only applicable to students. Moreover, these actions indicated to them that the application of rules surrounding AI and AIVs was subject to bias at the individual level. As a result of these perceptions, they believed that there was less reason for students to follow stated rules surrounding AI and AIVs.

[19] A test bank is a set of questions and answers which can be used to create exams and assignments. These are used frequently by instructors as a means of saving time and energy in assessment of learning; however, these same are often made available to the public through various internet sources (Golden & Kohlbeck, 2020).

Cultural capital and habitus

Bourdieu's (1986) ideas were instrumental in examining two themes, particularly the ideas of institutionalized cultural capital and habitus. Institutionalized cultural capital, as described by Bourdieu, refers to particular sets of cultural capital which have become codified, as is the case with a university degree or an entry visa to a country. Habitus, as previously mentioned, refers to a particular set of dispositions and feelings allowing an individual or group of individuals to navigate particular social phenomena with little effort. These two concepts were useful in analyzing how participants spoke of assumptions they felt that their institutions made about them.

Assumption of WEIRD cultural capital and habitus

As noted before, twelve participants reported that they felt their institutions had not done enough to ensure that students actually understood rules surrounding AIVs in response to question 18. These responses focused on how there was a gap between participant understandings of AI and what they perceived was expected of them by their institutions and professors, such that their institutions wanted what Heinrich, Heyne, & Norezanyan (2010) termed WEIRD cultural capital: "Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic" (p. 1). These participants reported that they felt their institutions treated students as though they should all possess the same habitus and cultural capital, something also made evident in the codes of academic integrity at each institution. This was evident in how Liang Xia and Zhu Fang spoke of the issues of their "fresh off the boat" friends.

It is worthwhile to note here that all three institutions that participants attended have a clause in their codes of academic integrity stating that by attending the institution, students have agreed that they are responsible for knowing and following the code of academic integrity. While this holds all students to the same standard, as Strangfeld (2019) has noted, there is a privilege afforded to those students who are already familiar with all such rules and standards, while as participants noted above, those who are not familiar with such rules and standards are cast as needing to already know them, to possess the appropriate cultural capital for schooling at the institution.

Notably, this matches how participants spoke of how there seemed to be an assumption that a clear idea of a "normal" student existed, and that anything which deviated from the perceived "normal" was assumed to be negative and deserving of suspicion and/or punishment. Participants reported that the "normal" student was one who met the WEIRD criteria listed above, but more importantly, one who did not significantly go against the criteria listed above. This is to say that while a given student might meet some of the WEIRD criteria, they might escape suspicion of an AIV by not perfectly meeting WEIRD criteria.

Stated differently, participants reported that adhering to a perceived "normal" was the goal of AI policies and practices. This meant that any student who lacked a key "normal" trait would have to adapt to and overcome this same, through action or word. In other words, as several participants noted, the work of learning the rules that professors seemed to not want to teach was treated as a problem itself, as the mistakes made while learning how to properly cite or what the rules for test-taking were treated

as evidence of cheating and bad intent, rather than as part of the process of learning. This aligns neatly to Pennycook's (1996) notion of blaming the learner for learning, something which four participants spoke of directly.

The complicated notion of being "international" and shifting roles

Another theme pertains to the notion of the "international" student, something which is relevant to being able to evaluate comparative research between domestic and international student populations. Interestingly, though repeated examinations of visa categories and reflection on how I had to define participants in this study, it became clear that "international" as a distinction of student status is largely an example of institutionalized cultural capital, one which does not match actual student experiences of domesticity versus internationality.

In recruiting participants for this study, I followed the definition of the US government for the F1 visa, which requires that students must not be US citizens and must be intending to pursue a degree or English language proficiency (USCIS, 2021). The specific requirements detail that anyone receiving an F1 visa must provide an offer of admission at a qualifying IHE, provide proof of prior education if requested, demonstrate existing financial ability to pay for all school and living costs, and show plans to return to their home country once the course of study has ended (USCIS, 2021). IHEs are required by law to follow this definition of internationality through the SEVIS program, which requires IHEs to track and update a central federal database of all students in the US on F1 visas (USCIS, 2021).

This definition is convenient in its specificity; however, it also represents an encapsulation of an idealized notion of internationality which is ephemeral, as there is a time limit built into the visa itself in the notion of the length of the course of study. The visa itself serves as a mark of distinction for universities, something which has been discussed already (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Stein & de Andreotti, 2015), as by seeking out students on F1 visas, US IHEs can increase their rankings and have a ready stream of direct tuition revenues, since these revenues are a condition of obtaining the visa.

However, as the research process continued, I found that my initial requirements did not reflect the multiple lived experiences of my participants. Beyond this, I also found that participants had their own ideas surrounding how to define international student status. Because of this, I had to examine the notion of international student status as a question of institutional cultural capital in comparison to participant experiences of being international. In particular, three participants had their visa status change during the course of their time in the US, while another three were actively working on changing their visa status, and one reported that he intended to change his status closer to the end of his studies.

These statements evidenced a very different conception of being "international" students, one which did not conform to the limits of an F1 visa, but which rather extended beyond it in various forms. These included a focus on future possibilities in the US, particularly job placements and eventual permanent residency or citizenship, as well as release from restrictions in one's home country, particularly

Korean military service[20] and social capital restrictions in China for the establishment of start-up firms, something which Guo Ming was particularly vocal about. Guo Ming notably decried the calls he heard about encroachment of immigrants on US jobs, noting that his plan for studying in the US involved taking the opportunity to innovate and create new businesses and companies, something which would ultimately benefit the US.

Furthermore, the distinction between those students seen as "proficient" in English and those who are not proficient was not reflected by the F1 visa, but rather by university policy, something which varies considerably among different institutions, including those involved in this study. The same visa was issued to both Liu Yan and Li Ming for the same institution, but Liu Yan was obligated to take supplemental EFL courses prior to taking credit-bearing classes, while Li Ming was not. This focus on the need for supplementary English classes was noted by multiple participants as being problematic and something to be avoided, particularly those whose parents had sent them to the US or other countries for earlier levels of education. This itself shows a desire among several participants or their families to avoid some of the more supposedly harmful aspects of the idealized "international student," as a lack of English ability is codified into institutions policies as something which has to be remedied through non-credit-bearing coursework.

[20] Two-year compulsory military service is required of all Korean males between the ages of 18-35 under Article 3 of the Military Service Law in South Korea (Byeongyeokbeop, art. 3, 2019).

Chapter 8: Conclusion

Purpose of the study

This study sought to elucidate what academic integrity and academic integrity violations meant in US higher education to particular groups of international students at mid-Atlantic IHEs, specifically those in the most popular majors for international students at the time the study began. The study examined three main research questions:

1: How are both academic integrity and violations of it conceived of at US universities by undergraduate Chinese and Korean students in business and computer science departments?

2: How is the adjudication process for academic integrity violations [AIVs], particularly in regards to punishment, conceived of and interpreted by undergraduate Chinese and Korean students in business and computer science departments?

3: What differences, if any, exist between the conceptions of Chinese and Korean undergraduate students in computer science and business departments concerning a) academic integrity violations and b) the process of dealing with AIVs?

In examining these research questions, I used three guiding theories to conceptualize the study and to create themes, those of labelling theory (Becker, 1963), attribution theory (Kahneman, 2011), and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Using these three guiding theories, I identified several themes which offer insight into

how academic integrity is conceptualized and understood by the participants in my study. Each of these relate to the research questions stated above in particular ways, but, overall, similar answers were present for participants regardless of country of origin, choice of major, or school attended. The next section will present brief answers to the research questions of this study.

1: How are both academic integrity and violations of it conceived of at US universities by undergraduate Chinese and Korean students in business and computer science departments?

It is useful to begin this section by again mentioning Bertram Gallant's (2008) notion of a culture of integrity. In her work, Bertram Gallant describes multiple stages that academic integrity has gone through in higher education in the US over time, noting how the idea of honor was replaced by the idea of punishment, and how recently, the idea of an honor code has been prevalent. However, in speaking of this, Bertram Gallant notes that any code or punishment is ineffective if there is not a shared culture of integrity within an institution of higher education. By this, Bertram Gallant posits that shared ideals of integrity such as those espoused by the International Center for Academic Integrity (ICAI) (2014) must be understood, valued, and shared by members of the academic community at all levels, from students to professors to administrators and the overall community outside. The ICAI proposes six ideals that institutions of higher education should follow, specifically honesty, trust, fairness, respect, responsibility, and courage (2014). Notably, these ideals are not injunctions against behavior, but rather ideals of behavior that should be encouraged.

Having restated this, I have noted that participants answered direct questions about academic integrity by defining what it is not, leaving out any notion of what it actually is. As shown previously, participants described academic integrity through a series of negative statements, such as not cheating, not plagiarizing, and not copying answers. Participants spoke of AIVs in a limited manner when asked direct questions as well, focusing on plagiarism and the idea of rule breaking. Indeed, participants noted that their responses came from a lack of understanding of institutional codes of AI and institutional understandings of AI. Participants reported feeling that they lacked sufficient knowledge of AI, and that excessive responsibility was placed on them to learn the rules of academic integrity on their own. They reported feeling confused and scared about AI, linking it to prohibited behavior and punishment that they thought could be very damaging and harsh. They reported feeling that institutions had a responsibility to teach them about academic integrity. However, with the exception of one participant, they indicated that their institutions had not done enough to teach them about AI. Twelve participants specifically described wanting their institutions to provide more training on AI and expectations not only to students, but also to faculty and administrators, such that shared understandings could be brought about.

Thus, when focusing on institutional rules of AI, participants did not discuss AI so much as on specific ideas of AIVs. It is interesting to think of this in comparison to the codes of academic integrity of PSU, EAU, and NAU, all of which begin by stating that values of integrity and honesty are key to their institutions' well-being and continued functioning, but which never then define honesty or integrity,

instead focusing on their opposites. Indeed, in all three codes of academic integrity, the only clear definitions presented are those of AIVs. The argument could be made that participant understandings and definitions of AI reflected the codes themselves (and their lack of clear definition of values), even though very few of them had actually read the codes.

However, answers to other questions showed that participants had a shared set of ideas surrounding academic integrity that did not involve institutional rules, but rather specific ideals that they wanted to uphold, ones which map very closely to those championed by the ICAI (2019). That is, participants described several values that they wished to uphold, and that they wished their institutions, professors, and peers would uphold as well.

Participants spoke notably about how much they valued honesty, particularly in relation to the idea of doing one's own work. All participants spoke of wanting to be honest in their own work at least once in their responses, noting that while it may not always be possible to be totally honest in one's own work, honesty should still be striven for. Several participants spoke of how they wrestled with their decisions to engage in AIVs out of a desire to be honest in their work, balanced with the perception that they needed to obtain the highest grade possible to succeed in their courses and future endeavors.

This speaks also to the value of responsibility, something which participants spoke of not only in regards to their own personal responsibility in ensuring that they did their own work, but also in determining whether or not and how to inform pertinent authorities about observed or suspected AIVs. Participants indicated that

they felt that there was a standard of responsibility against which they judged not only AIVs, but also decisions to inform pertinent authorities about suspected AIVs. All participants spoke of certain AIVs as being universally understood.

Participants identified certain types of AIVs as being particularly egregious, calling them "big cheating," and noting that those who engage in such behavior are to be held more responsible for their actions. However, they also identified other behaviors as "small cheating," and they noted that while individuals do share responsibility for their actions in this form of cheating, other circumstances may have a large influence over individual actions.

Participants also spoke clearly about fairness as an ideal, noting how they wanted their institutions to ensure that understandings of AI and AIVs were shared among all community members equally. They also wanted to ensure that no one had an advantage over anyone else. This was particularly present in statements surrounding the actions of TAs, as several participants noted how TAs could be a force for fairness in alleviating oppressive assignments and expectations as well as how TAs could be a force for reinforcing inequality by overlooking certain AIVs and punishing others. Similarly, participants stressed the need for clearer expectations and rules, and for greater training on the same to ensure that all members of the academic community share a clear understanding of both AI and rules surrounding it. As noted, the most common statement participants wished to make to their professors and institutions was that students wanted and needed more guidance and information on AI.

Additionally, several participants spoke of the need for courage in dealing with AI and AIVs, especially in regards to doing what they felt to be the correct thing while knowing that doing so would subject them to risk or possible suffering (e.g., getting a lower grade on a test or assignment). Other participants spoke of the need to address observed instances of AIVs if they felt that the AIVs would cause harm to others, despite knowing that this could cause social friction and earn one a reputation as an informer.

More than anything else, though, there was a clear value present among all participants to avoid harming other students whenever possible. This was most present in the way that participants reported that they would avoid informing on other students unless doing so would prevent harm to another student, particularly because participants stated that they felt that in most cases, informing on another student would simply cause more harm to this student. However, it was also present in the way that participants discussed punishments for AIVs, with all participants reporting that they felt that punishments for AIVs should never be solely punitive, and that they should always contain an opportunity for learning, growth, and improved understanding of rules surrounding AI.

2: How is the adjudication process for academic integrity violations [AIVs], particularly in regards to punishment, conceived of and interpreted by undergraduate Chinese and Korean students in business and computer science departments?

Participants generally felt that the adjudication process for AIVs at their institutions was confusing, arbitrary, and inconsistent. Participants all agreed that there should be a system to adjudicate AIVs, and that the purpose of such a system

should be to discipline and educate so that students would be able to understand the value of AI and the ways to maintain it. This was noted particularly when discussing punishments and the learning process, wherein participants spoke of the possibility of greater and more repeated outreach to students and the academic community at large to ensure greater awareness of specific rules and procedures surrounding AI and the AIV adjudication process.

However, participants did not feel that their institutions had such systems in place, noting that a great amount of AIVs were dealt with outside of any formal system of adjudication, and were thus left to the whims of professors or TAs. Several participants spoke of how standards for what would count as an AIV were very unclear, leading to situations in which what was encouraged in one class would be considered an AIV in another, particularly regarding when and how it was appropriate to collaborate with other students. Standards of what would count as excessive copying or plagiarism were likewise described as unclear or inconsistent, particularly regarding similarity scores from tools such as Turnitin. Participants noted that their professors had established cutoff similarity scores beyond which papers or homework would be flagged as likely plagiarism, but these scores were never explained or justified. Beyond this, several participants noted that regardless of the rules established by professors, a great deal of the grading of coursework and proctoring of exams was done by TAs, who could then impose their own standards on what would count as an AIV. Finally, as Liang Xia mentioned, when TAs do find cases of AIVs, professors can disregard the judgment of the TA and choose to not report an incident.

Going together with this was the idea that even when there is agreement that an AIV has taken place, participants felt that the punishments were inconsistent by both professors and academic integrity offices at their institutions. Participants at PSU and EAU spoke of how some professors would deal with suspected AIVs on their own through a grade reduction or a zero on an assignment, while others would ensure that all cases were sent to the academic integrity office for adjudication. This meant that for the same AIV, one student might be subject to a failing course grade and a transcript notation for academic dishonesty, while another might have no mark on their record. However, even in dealing with the academic integrity office, there was a disparity in outcomes noted by participants.

Participants also reported that because there was so little consistency in adjudication, being caught and punished for AIVs was seen as bad luck, and not an opportunity for growth and learning. This thought was evident when discussing whether or not those persons accused of an AIV were likely responsible for the AIV. As noted, participants all reported that anyone accused of an AIV was most likely responsible for an AIV, including those who reported they had been falsely accused themselves. Participants spoke of how many AIVs they observed which were either ignored or not even observed by their professors and TAs, leading to the perception that because there are so many AIVs taking place, whoever is accused is likely to have engaged in an AIV, perhaps even having done so multiple times.

Interestingly, there was a disconnection between how participants felt about possible punishments and consequences and what consequences they actually observed or experienced themselves (with the exception of students from NAU, as

will be explained in the following section). Participants reported feeling very fearful of the consequences of being accused of committing an AIV, noting the aforementioned inconsistencies in punishment how the same AIV could be considered both very egregious or fairly innocuous by different professors or TAs. Several participants spoke of not wanting to inform on others out of fear that by doing so, the other students might lose their visas and not be able to continue their studies. Others reported fear of losing their own visas as a result of being accused of an AIV. However, as noted before, the most common consequence participants observed for AIVs was a failing grade on the assignment where the AIV took place, with only two participants reporting having seen someone actually removed from their institution as a consequence of an AIV. While participants did report seeing multiple consequences for the same type of AIV, these consequences were largely needing to retake a course, redo an assignment, or simply deal with a grade reduction. Thus, there was a fear of punishment among participants that did not match their own observations of actual punishments.

3: What differences, if any, exist between the conceptions of Chinese and Korean undergraduate students in computer science and business departments concerning a) academic integrity violations and b) the process of dealing with AIVs?

Seven differences were present among groups of participants as noted in the cross-case analysis. Of these, three were differences between major groups, two were differences among institutions, and two were differences between country of origin of participants.

The three differences between major groups related to definitions of AIVs, awareness of commission of AIVs, and what participants would say to their institutions. Specifically, CS majors tended to conceive of AIVs as intentional violations of community standards as well as institutional standards, tended to feel that their professors were largely unaware of the number of AIVs taking place owing to so many assignments being graded by TAs, and tended to want to express to their institutions that the punishments for AIVs were too harsh and did not make sense. Business majors, in contrast, tended to express their conception of AIVs through concepts of plagiarism and cheating; tended to feel that although their professors were often aware of the AIVs taking place, they ignored them; and tended to want to express to their institutions that they wanted more instruction on academic integrity and clarity on the rules of academic integrity.

The two differences among institutions related to punishments for AIVs and acceptability of working with students perceived to have committed AIVs. Participants from both EAU and PSU reported that punishments given out to students for AIVs at their institutions were generally restricted to grade reductions on assignments or a failing grade in the class where the AIV took place, and further reported that while they did not want to work with others suspected of committing AIVs, they would still do so. In contrast, participants from NAU reported that punishments given out for AIVs at their institution were largely removal from the institution, and further reported that they would not work with students suspected of committing AIVs for fear of being perceived as also committing an AIV and then being removed from NAU.

The two differences between Chinese and Korean participants related to perceptions of student responsibility for knowing about AI and AIVs and perceptions of how fair their institutions were in their treatment of AIVs. Chinese participants reported that they felt their institutions had not done enough to help them learn about AI and AIVs, and that instructor expectations were unclear regarding AI and AIVs. They further reported that they perceived that the way their institutions dealt with AIVs was not fair, largely owing to inconsistent responses to AIVs among professors. Korean participants, in comparison, reported that while their institutions could have provided more assistance in learning about AI and AIVs, their institutions did provide sufficient information for students to be able to learn the rules surrounding AI and AIVs. In addition to this, Korean participants reported that while they felt that the outcome of AIV accusations was not fair, the actual process of dealing with an accusation of an AIV was fair and allowed for an impartial evaluation of the case and circumstances surrounding it.

Far more important here, though, are the similarities in participant responses. Regardless of country of origin, major, or institution attended, overall participant responses were very similar. Attitudes towards AI and AIVs between majors were largely the same, with both business and CS majors speaking about punishments being inconsistent and harsh, and with both majors focusing on rule-breaking in their definitions of AI. Both Korean and Chinese participants spoke of unfair outcomes and inconsistent rules for AI and AIVs. As such, even in areas where there were differences, the overall responses of participants were very similar.

One important caveat to repeat here is that as stated in chapter 4, the overall sample of participants in this study can hardly be said to be representative of any particular country or major. Having said this, while the desire to represent different cultures and countries of origin may be seen as ideal under certain epistemological and ontological regimes, such a desire is not binding in qualitative research, particularly in this study. The small number of participants overall, as well as the constraints on majors and countries of origin, mean that any overarching statements about particular countries of origin or majors in higher education are not warranted. However, this does not mean that the experiences of or insight gained from participants in this study are invalid, as they are not intended to be representative of a constitutive whole, but rather as a presentation of the experiences of those participants who were willing to share their experiences here. Thus, it would be inappropriate to take the information and conclusions here as representative of any particular category of person. Instead, the perspectives presented here should be considered on their own merits, something which is evidenced by the diversity of participant backgrounds.

The one area in which a clear difference is present is the participants' responses of the participants from NAU vs other institutions. However, as there were only two participants from NAU, it is difficult to make any conclusive statements about how closely these participants' experiences represent that institution's student body, let alone relate to those of others at the institution. Both participants from NAU reported being very fearful of the consequences of even being accused of an AIV, describing how they had been told repeatedly that any instance of an AIV would be

grounds for their removal from the institution. Both participants reported that they felt quite intimidated by this, and that they worked hard to ensure that they would not be ever accused of any impropriety.

Implications

In this section, I will offer an analysis of the implications of my findings, focusing on my theoretical framework, research methods, and finally policy and practice.

Implications for theory:

In this study, I did not try to expand on existing theories or models, but rather utilized certain theories to inform my analysis of participant responses and institutional documents. Because of this, I will offer an examination of the theories used in the analysis here along with their respective usefulness for this and possible future studies. While little used in research on AI and AIVs, labelling theory proved useful in examining participant responses and institutional documents in this study. As noted in the theoretical framework chapter, labelling theory allows for an analysis of how rules are created, implemented, understood, and experienced (Becker, 1963; Bernburg, 2009). This was useful in this study, particularly in regards to how participants understood who creates rules for AI and AIVs, as well as who participants reported enforced rules surrounding AI and AIVs, how they felt about those who enforced rules, and how they did so. The idea of the secret deviant was particularly important here in the form of the "high-grade cheater," a student who does not fit the stereotype of someone who engages in AIVs and is thus not

suspected. Participants reported a fear of being labelled a cheater, as this could lead to distrust and further accusations. This fear was present even among those who reported being completely moral in their actions, particularly in light of the common thought that anyone accused of cheating was most likely responsible for cheating.

One area of labelling theory which I was unable to fully utilize in this study was an analysis of moral entrepreneurs and rule enforcers. As Becker (1963) describes, moral entrepreneurs are those persons who seek to create new rules surrounding a given social issue, often using a moral panic to create the perception of a serious problem and also a set of stereotypical deviants who create or exacerbate the problem. These persons engage in efforts to create rules which codify deviance and its required punishment, something which is often seen in political realms through legislation. However, once the rules have been created, they must be enforced by rule enforcers, such as TAs, faculty, and administrators as described by participants, who Becker describes as persons whose work involves monitoring adherence to rules and punishing transgressions of rules. Becker speaks of police officers as common rule enforcers in everyday life.

However, in this study, participants were predominantly those who would be labelled and subject to the work of moral entrepreneurs and rule enforcers, not having a hand in creating and enforcing rules themselves. Although several participants had served as TAs in classes and had some status as rule enforcers, there was a clear interplay in their stories between how professors implemented and enforced rules and how TAs enforced rules, something which could not be more fully explored in this study, but which merits further attention. Furthermore, while Yang Li was actively

working on revising the code of academic integrity at EAU, ultimately, his voice was just one on a large panel which would make recommendations that might or might not be taken up in the final set of revisions. As such, future research could make better use of this aspect of labeling theory with an expanded set of participants to include persons who create rules and enforce the same, to include professors, TAs, and members of adjudicating panels at institutions if present.

One aspect of labelling theory which I had originally thought would be far more present in participant responses was that of the label "international" being perceived by participants as being more associated with excessive punishment and unfair blame for AIVs. As noted in my statement of positionality, I had witnessed false accusations of AIVs against students on several occasions. Several participants in this study noted similar experiences, including one very similar to my own experience, and in one case, an extremely clear case of bias against Chinese students simply owing to their national origin. However, participants did not report feeling that the international label was used to justify false accusations, stating instead that any student accused of an AIV was likely guilty of it. There was a discrepancy here wherein the experiences of participants appeared to me to be examples of discriminatory treatment. However, for the most part, participants did not directly express feeling that being an international student was associated with excessive accusations of AIVs or unfair punishment regarding AIVs, with the proviso that nearly all participants reported the need for better training regarding AIVs for all members of the academic community. This discrepancy merits additional study into how international students understand and interpret labels and how they are applied,

since, as previously noted, the manner in which institutions and governments establish and apply labels does not match the lived experiences of students.

Attribution theory was of limited usage in this study, primarily owing to the fact that insights from attribution theory were already made clear through labelling theory. However, the idea of an external locus of control (Nosek, Banaji, & Greenwald, 2002) was useful in examining participant statements regarding why they did not feel personally responsible for perceived problems regarding AI and AIVs at their institutions. Two biases identified in the theoretical framework – the desirability bias and the in-group/out-group bias – did not prove particularly useful in examining participant statements, except in a limited way regarding how use of languages other than English. However, in a larger study taking into account moral entrepreneurs and rule enforcers, it is entirely possible that these aspects of attribution theory would prove useful, particularly given that they apply most clearly to situations in which individuals assign blame or responsibility for given actions.

The ideas of cultural capital and habitus seemed to apply best to participant statements about what they felt their institutions expected of them, rather than to evaluate any certain set of participants' behaviors or understandings. It is important to note here that, as mentioned in the literature review, a great deal of research on international student understandings of concepts such as plagiarism and citation come from a deficit or deficiency perspective (Chandrasoma, Thompson, & Pennycook, 2004; Pecorari & Petric, 2014; Pennycook, 1996). This is to say that international students are often portrayed as having a set of understandings of AI and AIVs that does not match the expectations of US IHEs, and that this is a problem to be solved

(Pennycook, 1996). However, as Bertram Gallant and Drinan (2007) noted, understandings of AI and AIVs are not shared even among individuals at the same institution, as professors and administrators demonstrated widely different ideas about how well policies were understood and followed by themselves and students. Indeed, participant statements in this study pointed not towards an international student versus institution mismatch of habitus and cultural capital, but rather wide perceived disparities in standards of AI and AIVs among different professors and departments.

As noted previously, while participants did not report much familiarity with institutional codes of AI, they did report very similar ideas surrounding values of AI. Notably, the ideals professed by participants align closely to the standards professed by the ICAI, an organization which has worked to establish global policy and best practices for AI, but which has traditionally focused on AI and AIV practices at North American IHEs. Four of six standards proposed as ideal by the ICAI – honesty, fairness, responsibility, and courage – were presented as values in participant statements, while an additional standard of not causing harm was also evident. These values were present across institutions, majors, and countries of origin. This goes against the idea that a mismatch of cultural capital is the main issue leading international students to engage in more AIVs or be accused of more AIVs than domestic students.

Furthermore, as noted above, the idealized version of the "international student" expressed both in US Federal policy and in university policy does not match the experiences of the participants in this study, who present a range of lived experiences and changes in visa status. By casting all international students as

existing under the same label, and then decrying them as being similarly problematic or in need of remedy, a dual elision occurs. On one hand, the diversity of experiences and lived realities of international students is removed, despite the fact that university policies frequently acknowledge diversities of experience through the requirements for English proficiency and ways of proving the same. On the other hand, similarities in positive values expressed regarding AI, such as those present in this study, are also not considered, with a framing of "international" solely through a deficit lens. This points to the need for a better-defined examination of how and when the label "international" is applied, as well as by whom.

It is with this in mind that a more detailed analysis of the institutions that participants attended, particularly their adjudication structures and those involved in them, through the lens of cultural capital and habitus would be beneficial. As Rizvi (2017) noted, there is a tendency to think that policy is something to be examined with respect to how those who are expected to change do change. However, this misses a great deal of how the policy is implemented and tends to portray certain entities as outside the scope of a policy when they are a vital part of it. Participants spoke at length of the inconsistencies they noticed in the adjudication process at their institutions, and they spoke particularly about how there seemed to be no shared standards for AI or what constituted an AIV. As noted above, policies surrounding AI at all three institutions did mention the values of honesty and integrity, but they did not define them or provide examples of what they meant. Rather, they presented relatively clear definitions of what AIVs are, along with conditions which could make an AIV be deemed more or less serious. Because of this, it is unclear what standards

these institutions actually value in AI. There is also the problem of NAU's category of "other academic misconduct" which is defined only as "any form of academic deceit," a description which is open to the interpretation of any person responsible for adjudicating suspected AIVs. Thus, while beyond the scope of this study, a further analysis of what actual habitus and cultural capital are present and valued among those persons involved in the creation of rules of AI and adjudication of AIVs – in comparison with that of other members of the university community – would be very useful.

Implications for methods and research:

This study utilized qualitative methods as they allow for engagement with multiple perspectives, interpretations, and understandings of academic integrity, something which has been little used in previous research on AI and AIVs (Ashworth, McDonald, & Freewood, 2003). However, this study dealt with a sensitive topic during a particularly difficult time in education. The COVID pandemic is ongoing at the time I write this, with lockdowns continuing in major cities in China and rising case numbers in the mid-Atlantic area of the US (Conn, 2022; Yang, 2022). This was reflected in the responses of participants, and for three participants (Yang Li, Wang Gao, and Li Ming), it meant that we spoke from different countries at least once. While it is important to acknowledge this, an analysis of exactly how COVID has impacted research during this time is clearly outside the scope of this study and my own training. Instead, I offer here implications which relate to the nature of the research conducted here and the value of additional qualitative studies.

As noted in my methodology section, even before lockdowns began, there was a strong resistance to participation in this study at the institutional level. Business and CS departments at all three institutions declined to put my call for participants on their listservs, with only the office of international student services at PSU agreeing to circulate a call for participants. NAU's office of international student services wrote back to me with the response listed in the methodology section, essentially stating that because they provided an orientation to their students, no further analysis was necessary, something which is questionable in light of statements from both NAU participants. Future studies would thus benefit from not relying on institutional cooperation with such a study, seeking participants from other sources. Alternately, finding ways to define the study in a way that was less threatening or at least could be perceived by institutional actors as useful would be a possibility for obtaining more institutional support, though, as mentioned before, institutional support may not match support at other levels (Bertram Gallant & Drinan, 2007). As noted, I was successful in recruiting participants through student government listservs as well as through the social media sites Reddit, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and LinkedIn. However, given that in-person instruction has resumed in many places, further avenues of making contact with students through attendance of student groups and clubs would be another potential avenue for recruitment.

Notably, though, many individuals were willing to participate in this study, more so than could actually be included in the sample used, despite pandemic conditions. These individuals did not meet inclusion criteria based largely on their country of origin or status as non-undergraduate students. Because of this, some of

the rationales for an emphasis on quantitative work on AI and AIVs are now questionable. Many studies have focused on the use of anonymous surveys to assess ideas surrounding AI and AIVs, particularly the ongoing McCabe survey (Davis, Drinan, & Bertram Gallant, 2009). It is thought that the anonymity allowed by the surveys allows for more honest answers to questions (McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012), but it is also easier to send a survey to greater numbers of potential participants, something seen as a boon by some researchers on AI and AIVs (Teixeira & Rocha, 2010). However, as noted previously, surveys require *a priori* definitions and categories and do not allow for nuanced examination of participant responses. As seen in participant stories, there is a great deal of what Zhu Fang referred to as gray area cheating, wherein an action may or may not be considered an AIV depending on context. This is something which is difficult to capture in survey questions such as "have you ever copied the answers to a homework assignment?" and "how many times have you copied answers to homework in the last year?" (McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012).

This points to the possibility and benefit of additional qualitative research on AI and AIVs. As noted in the literature review, the Bowers framework which formed the basis of the ongoing McCabe surveys was not put together based on an extensive survey of – let alone in depth conversations with – students, but rather as a set of behaviors Bowers thought were most likely to be considered examples of AIVs (McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012). This framework, just as noted regarding codes of academic integrity, does not actually define integrity or honesty, focusing instead on discrete behaviors which have already been determined to be AIVs. One

major goal of this study was to address this by asking participants about what they understood and felt AI and AIVs to be; however, as noted, the responses to these direct questions led to a simple set of answers about breaking rules and plagiarizing. Nevertheless, answers to other questions demonstrated that rather than a specific set of behaviors and that participants took a more values-based approach in determining whether a particular action would constitute an AIV, considering not only student actions but also the actions and dispositions of professors, TAs, and administrators.

As such, the usefulness of large-scale survey research in AI and AIVs appears questionable, particularly as it pertains to the common refrains so present in pandemic research claiming that "cheating is increasing in online classes" or that "cheating is decreasing in online classes" (Jenkins et al, 2022; Peled et al, 2018). It is important to note that small-scale qualitative surveys cannot address such claims using the same standard of evidence, but it is also important to note that the realities supposedly denoted by large-scale survey research are far more complicated than would be thought based on current studies. The statements of participants in this study indicate that any notion of AI that is defined by AIVs, particularly student reports of engagement in actions already defined as AIVs, does not take into account how complicated the notion of an AIV can be. Furthermore, it does not take into account how AIVs are defined at different institutions, how AIVs are adjudicated, or indeed whether or not the actions defined as AIVs on the survey actually correspond to institutional definitions of AIVs. It is important to note that the excessive focus on student actions as AIVs has already been noted by some at ICAI, which is why the ICAI is currently working on implementing a survey of instructor attitudes and

perceptions of AIVs (Greer Murphy & David Ison, personal communication). However, this has yet to come to fruition, and even when implemented, it will provide only one additional piece of the picture that participants have outlined in this study.

Because of this, it is my hope that more qualitative studies will be implemented on AI and AIVs, with an institutional focus. Specifically, the vertical case study approach of Bartlett and Vavrus (2014) might be a useful framework for doing so, as well as an ethnographic approach (Geertz, 1973). Such approaches would be able to address the issues that participants spoke of in this study, notably the confusion surrounding understandings of AIVs among different departments and professors, as well as how different departments might treat the same action differently. Most importantly in any further qualitative research on AI and AIVs, though, will be a need to not proceed based on preconceived ideas of AIVs, but rather with a focus on values and conditions which affect any perceived AIV. Even recent qualitative research on student thoughts on AI and AIVs, such as Packallen and Rowbotham's (2022) impressive study of Canadian university students, tends to proceed from the same assumption that AIVs are purely a student issue, using theories such as moral disengagement (Bandura, 2002) and neutralization theory (Costello, 2000). These theories seek to explain why individuals choose to set aside their morals to commit unethical or deviant acts, placing responsibility squarely on the individual, and taking statements such as those made by participants in this study as excuses for behavior rather than as valuable insight about how the overall culture of integrity at an institution is constructed.

Implications for policy and practice:

As Packallen and Rowbotham (2022) noted, there is a distinct lack of student voice in recommendations for policy and practice surrounding AI and AIVs. Though there are exceptions to this, such as the Stevens Institute of Technology (2022), which has an academic integrity office run completely by students, the normal situation is one in which professors and administrators at various levels of an institution decide on policies – as well as implementation practices – regarding what will count as an AIV and how AIVs should be addressed (McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012; McGrail & McGrail, 2015). This is reflected in participant statements here, even with Yang Li's work on revising EAU's academic integrity policy. As such, there is a need to consider student experiences and thoughts on AI and AIVs for policy and practice. Based on the statements of participants here, I offer the following recommendations for policy and practice.

The first of these is for institutions to refocus on values and standards of AI, rather than AIVs. Although this is already called for by the ICAI based on Bertram Gallant's (2008) work, and although a full culture of integrity approach has been suggested by McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield (2012), in practice, institutional codes of conduct and adjudication tend to be top-down, punitive, and focused on AIVs without any real focus on what values are supposed to be upheld (McGrail & McGrail, 2015; Packallen & Rowbotham, 2022). Participants in this study largely reported this to be the case at their institutions, something which is also present in the institutional codes of academic integrity at their institutions, as noted previously. The framing of academic integrity by what it is not rather than by what it is was a key

feature of not only participant statements, but also by all codes of academic integrity. Participants here met this with feelings of fear and confusion, wishing for more information and consistency in rule application.

The exception to this was Liu Yan, who reported that her professor had taken a values-based approach to the teaching of rules of academic integrity. It is worthwhile to note that Liu Yan spoke of her own feelings of frustration and fear regarding the approach taken both at her high school and in her ESL courses, which was AIV focused and made clear through the severity of punishments for infractions. She spoke of how this caused her to actually avoid citations in her high school work, as she wanted to avoid any penalty for an incorrect citation. However, she spoke of her professor at EAU as taking an approach to AI through the form of community building and values, particularly related to ideas of plagiarism and proper citation. Yan spoke of how her professor made her feel that learning how to give credit to others was about becoming part of the academic community and supporting one another by ensuring that everyone received credit for their work. She further explained that this professor emphasized the importance of helping others learn where to look for more information and ideas by providing clear methods for locating sources of information in writings. In this, Yan spoke of how she felt that she was not just learning a set of rules for how and when to cite sources, but rather how to help those around her to learn more and how to ensure that those around her received credit and recognition for their own work as well. She contrasted this with her experiences in high school, saying that while she used to fear citations, now she just sees them as a step in becoming part of the academic community. Thus, plagiarism, a

word which is derived from stealing (Eaton, 2020), was reframed as supporting acknowledgment and inclusion in a community by one professor in one course. This did not change the overall institutional policies, but it presented them in such a way that a student, who previously feared notions of academic integrity, came to view them as beneficial and positive.

At the institutional level, this could be a valuable step to take. By reframing existing codes of academic integrity to focus on the values behind currently stated AIVs, institutions could possibly create more shared understandings of AI with students as well as others in the institution. Notably, honesty was mentioned by multiple participants as a goal in their work. By focusing on honesty as a value and creating a clear definition thereof, institutions could put forth a positive statement regarding what AI is and how to maintain it. Honesty could easily be promoted as being clear about what work is one's own, as well as what work comes from elsewhere, and being honest about where outside work comes from. This alone would account for the majority of plagiarism and contract cheating cases (Eaton, 2020). However, this is insufficient to address the totality of AIVs included in institutional codes of academic integrity at the institutions here. Instead, institutions would need to reexamine their codes of academic integrity and determine what values they feel are actually being promoted before then presenting these to their academic communities.

This leads to the second recommendation, which relates to student perspectives on AI and AIVs. As Packallen and Rowbotham (2022) noted, student perspectives are frequently treated simply as a means of establishing what behaviors students engage in and their relative frequencies. Otherwise, student perspectives are

treated as simply attempts by students to justify immoral behavior (Adhikari, 2018; Lang, 2013). Instead of this, it is important to consider student voices as part of the overall culture of academic integrity at a given institution. Participants in this study consistently reported that they felt their concerns were not considered, and that student perspectives were treated as an annoyance or an unfair criticism. However, in considering the actual culture of academic integrity of a given institution, the student perspective is essential, as it is an essential perspective which can accurately – and fully – evaluate policies and practices (Eaton, 2020; Packallen & Rowbotham, 2022).

As such, it is important to not only seek out student perspectives on AI and AIVs, as has been done for many years (McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2012), but also to treat these same as valid observations of what is – and should be – happening at institutions. Notably, rather than treating student testimonies as simply justifications for AIVs, it is valuable to examine student testimonies for what they say about the overall culture of academic integrity at an institution. It is important to note here that in creating the interview guide for this study, I deliberately approached AI and AIVs not from a moral or judgmental perspective, but rather from one that valued student definition. I eliminated references to the Bowers list and asked students for their perspectives on what constituted AI and AIVs, particularly due to the fact that so much research has proceeded from a perspective of supposed universal definitions of AI and AIVs (Bertram Gallant, 2008; Teixeira & Rocha, 2016). This does not allow for a more nuanced examination of what sort of culture of integrity exists at a given institution, or in a given department. As noted by McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield (2012), at one university, students were very much in favor of creating an honor code,

but when a code was proposed by administration, students rejected it and refused to support it. This was due to the fact that the code had been created without student input and had contained a requirement that students would have to report any incidents of academic dishonesty they observed. Had the institution sought out student feedback or input during the creation of the code, this could have been addressed. Yang Li spoke of this as well in his feelings about updating the code of academic integrity at EAU, noting that the fact that student government input was not only sought out, but required, ensured that there would at least be consideration given to students' concerns. Finally, it is important to consider student perspectives, which constitute part of a overall picture. They must be compared and added to the perspectives of others (including professors, TAs, instructors, and administrators) in the overall culture of integrity of the institution,. It is also important to note that student perspectives are evolving and not fixed, something which several participants noted in regards to their views on grades and homework. This means that there must be repeated engagement with students, possibly even the same students, over time in order to examine how perspectives on AI and AIVs change.

A third recommendation is for institutions to offer ongoing trainings and refreshers on the values and rules of academic integrity for all members of the academic community. This was mentioned repeatedly by participants as a desired change at their institutions, with many participants stating that they felt that no one spoke about AI or AIVs until there was already a problem or a violation had occurred. Ongoing proactive work on promoting awareness and understanding of – and commitment to – the code of academic integrity could address this and possibly

alleviate some of the confusion and fear expressed by participants (Bertram Gallant, 2008; Strangfeld, 2019). However, it is important to note that the code of conduct would have to apply not only to students, but also to professors, TAs, and administrators as well. As participants noted, the high variability in standards of AI among professors and TAs meant that regardless of how well students may know the institution's code of academic integrity, if their understandings do not match those of the persons responsible for applying the rules, issues can arise.

Penaluna and Ross (2022) describe how their institution offers an ongoing set of workshops available to students in which groups of students work together to examine real world scenarios where possible AIVs can take place, with a primary focus on actions which could count as collusion or plagiarism. These workshops are offered at least once per week, and they offer students a chance to voice their thoughts on both the code of academic integrity and ethical decision making in general. This type of format could be kept nearly as-is and expanded to professors, TAs, and administrators, with sessions added specifically for each group or possibly for mixed groups.

One final recommendation is for institutions to take Bertram Gallant (2008) and Eaton's (2020) suggestion to assess their overall culture of integrity. The most consistent concern that participants expressed was how there did not seem to be any shared understandings of AI or AIVs at their institutions, and that it was unclear how standards functioned among different actors and departments. An understanding of how different departments, professors, TAs, administrators, and students conceive of and operationalize AI and the code of AI at an institution would be invaluable in

addressing this as would efforts to try to establish shared understandings and practices.

While several frameworks exist for examining the culture of integrity, Eaton's (2020) approach is most expansive. Eaton's approach uses the 4M framework to outline the structure of integrity at a given institution, looking at the micro, meso, mega, macro, and mega levels respectively. The micro level refers to individuals in an institution, while meso refers to departments, and macro the institution itself. The mega level refers to the overall outside cultural environment in which the institution operates, taking into account social mores and ongoing events. While an analysis of all elements of the 4M framework would be ideal, in practice, simply examining the first two would be an important step in understanding the culture of integrity at an institution. This is something which could be done as part of the workshops described above, or by establishing focus groups from different departments at an institution, to include students, professors, TAs, and administrators. The results of such an analysis could be used to address specific interventions by department, as well as to engage in further workshops with members of the academic community about any differences that may appear.

Conclusion and future research

This study sought to address an area that has been little examined in existing research surrounding AI and AIVs, which is the perspective and experience of international students at US IHEs. By promoting international student voices as an important part of the AI picture, listening to their stories and considering their input on a confusing set of rules and practices, this study has sought to provide an initial

step towards establishing a fuller picture of the culture of integrity described by Bertram Gallant (2008) and Eaton (2020). One goal of this study was to examine a set of perspectives and experiences of international students on the process of adjudication of AIVs, something which has been lacking for too long in AI research. It is my hope that the stories that participants provided here can prove useful in future research and policy work in both student services and integrity studies, and that the willingness of participants to speak out on their experiences is taken as a sign that further research can be successfully implemented.

Based on the findings of this study, I hope to pursue two future studies. The first of these would be an examination of values and standards expressed by different groups at a particular IHE, focusing not on how AIVs are defined, but rather on how different groups of participants express their values of academic integrity through their own stories of dealing with both institutional adjudication of AIVs and personal experience of dealing with ethically ambiguous situations. This would best be facilitated through a narrative analysis of experiences (Merriam, 2009).

The second would be a full ethnographic study of the culture of integrity at a particular IHE in the US, which could be framed as a vertical case study (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014). In line with the recommendations above, a full ethnographic study of the culture of integrity at a given institution would be particularly valuable in AI research given the multiple issues described by participants in this study. Since student perspectives are only one part of the overall picture, it will be necessary to examine perspectives of professors, TAs, administrators, and possibly any staff in an

office of academic integrity or of student conduct. It is my hope that one of these studies happens and is informed by the information presented in this study.

Appendices

Appendix A: Call for participants and Screening Form

The purpose of this study is to examine perceptions and practices surrounding academic integrity, with a focus on comparison among international undergraduate students in higher education institutions in the USA. The reason for this is that so far, very few studies have actually asked international students about their experiences with academic integrity here in the US. Thus, there is limited information about how academic integrity policies and practices are perceived by and how they affect international students, and whether or not such policies are actually working properly. In order to address this, I am hoping to hear about your thoughts and experiences regarding academic integrity. I am hoping to talk to international students here in the mid-Atlantic region about their experiences with academic integrity issues, particularly issues surrounding all aspects of violations of academic integrity.

I am hoping to talk to students who have been here in the US for at least one year at their current school, who are from the major countries of origin of international students in the US, and who are studying the most popular majors among international students in the US. Because of this, I am looking for international undergraduate students who are studying business (administration, finance, or accounting) and computer science (any concentration), who are from China, Korea, or Saudi Arabia. If you feel like you match this description, I invite you to answer a few questions using the link below. If you think that this matches someone else that you know, please feel free to send this message to them, since their stories are extremely important in this research as well.

Screening Questions:

1. What country are you originally from?
2. Are you currently in the US on a student visa?
3. Have you ever been in the US on a student visa?
4. Are you currently an undergraduate student?
5. What school do you attend?
6. What is your current major in school?
7. What is your current year in school?
8. What is your current age?
9. How do you define your gender (male, female, other, etc.)?
10. Have you ever had any experience dealing with issues of academic integrity in your education? For example, being accused of plagiarism, being asked about whether or not you helped someone cheat on a test or a graded assignment, being accused of not being truthful about your work, being accused of getting help from other people in your school work, or anything else related to cheating or misconduct?
11. Would you be willing to participate in an interview about your experiences and perceptions regarding this topic?
12. If so, how would you prefer to be contacted? (Skype, phone, in person)

Appendix B: Interview Guide

Introductory script:

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview. The purpose of this study is to examine perceptions and practices surrounding student academic integrity, with a focus on comparison among students from different fields and countries of origin. The reason for this is that so far, very few studies have actually asked international students about their experiences with academic integrity here in the US. This means that there is a lack of information about how academic integrity policies and practices are perceived by and affect international students, and whether or not such policies are actually working properly. In order to address this, I am hoping to hear about your thoughts and experiences regarding academic integrity. This interview should take about one hour. Please keep in mind that you don't have to answer anything that makes you uncomfortable, and also keep in mind that we can stop the interview at any time. If you have any questions while we are talking, please go ahead and ask them (NOTE-if you have any questions before we begin, though, please ask them now, because we are about to get started.) I'll be recording everything we talk about today on this digital recorder (in case of Skype: I will be recording the audio portion of our talk today, but not the video portion). If this is not alright with you, please let me know now and I will not record. I will keep all recordings in a password protected external hard drive that only I can access, so don't worry – everything we both say today will be kept confidential.

1. When you hear about academic integrity, what do you think it means?
Probes:
When have you heard people talk about this?
Who have you heard talk about this before?
With whom have you talked about this before?
If you wanted to learn more about what academic integrity means, where would you search for information? Why there?

2. When you hear about an academic integrity *violation*, what do you think it means?
Required Probes:
In your experience, when do people talk about academic integrity violations?
Who have you talked with about them before?
(If academic integrity violations are unclear) Most people say that when we talk about academic integrity violations, we are just using another word for cheating. But that word means many things to different people. When someone talks about cheating in an academic setting, what do you think they mean?
What do you think it means to commit an academic integrity violation?
What makes something an academic integrity violation? How do you know that it is an academic integrity violation?

Can you give me some examples of student behavior or actions that you or other people might consider as violating academic integrity?
How frequently do you feel that students are accused of academic integrity violations at your institution? What about in your department?

3. Are you familiar with your institution's honor code? (if unclear: code of conduct, student conduct code, student code)
If unfamiliar: A code of conduct is usually a set of rules that students have to follow at their institution.
Probes:
Could you tell me what it is about?
Where did you learn about your institution's honor code?
Who talked to you about it?
With whom have you talked about it?
When do students usually talk about the honor code?
Who do you think is responsible for making sure students know the honor code? Students? Professors? TAs? For whoever you choose, why this person or these people?

4. What happens when a student commits – or is perceived to commit – an academic integrity violation at your institution?
How do you know this?
Can you give me any examples of this happening?

5. Do people usually know when a student commits – or is identified as having committed – an academic integrity violation? When do they know? When do they not know?
Who usually does know?
Who usually doesn't know?
(REQUIRED) How do you feel about it when you know about an academic integrity violation, but other people do not? Could you provide some examples of this?

6. Some people say that student academic integrity violations should always be punished. What do you think about this? Why do you say that academic integrity violations should (or should not) always be punished?
Required Probes:
What kinds of punishments, if any, should be directed at a student who commits an academic integrity violation?
What kinds of punishment, if any, should NOT be directed at a student who commits an academic integrity violation?
Should punishments differ depending on the type of academic integrity violation? Which types should be punished more strongly and which types less strongly?
Are there times that punishments should be different for different students? Why or why not?

7. Do you feel that the way your institution deals with academic integrity violations is fair for everyone?
Probes:
Can you think of some examples for why you say that it is or is not fair for everyone?
Who have you seen dealing with academic integrity violations, and what have you seen them do? (mention as examples: students, faculty members, administrators if needed)
Have you ever seen any differences in the way academic integrity violations are addressed at your institution? (follow-up: in detection, in reporting, in adjudicating whether the reported behavior constitutes an academic integrity violation, in determining whether and what punishment should be meted out, in deciding whether or not to deal with them, etc.). *If so, please describe the differences you've observed.*

8. I'd like you to imagine that you are working in a group with other people to complete an assignment. Imagine that someone tells the group that they have seen you cheat on assignments before. How do you think you would feel about that? Why
Follow ups: How would you feel if you heard that someone else in the group has cheated before? Why?
Do you think you would tell the group if you knew that someone else in the group had cheated before? Why?

I'd like to ask you some questions about your own experiences and observations now. Please focus on things that you have experienced or seen at your institution. If you would like to add things that you experienced or saw before you were at your institution, please do so as well, but please clarify whether the experience did or did not take place your institution.

9. Can you think of a time that you saw another student engage in an academic integrity violation and get caught for it? Please describe it. (probes: Who was involved? What did each person do? Do you know if the student was reported for it? Do you know what happened afterward?)
Probes:
What about a time where a student did not get caught? Please describe it.
What did you think about each situation at the time? How did it make you feel?

10. Can you think of a time that you saw a student get (or learned that a student got) punished for an academic integrity violation? Please describe it. (probes: Who was involved? What did each person do? Do you know what happened afterward? If so, please describe what happened.)
Probes:
Did you think this person deserved to be punished? Why or why not?
Do you think the punishment was appropriate, too severe, or too lenient?
Can you think of a time where a student was caught, but did not get punished? Please describe it.
Do you feel like there were any differences between these cases other than the punishment? If so, what?

11. Can you think of a time when a student was accused and/or punished for an academic integrity violation even though she/he did not commit any academic integrity violations? Please describe it.
Probes:
How did you feel about this?

12. Can you think of any times when you did something that would count as an academic integrity violation? Please describe what you did.
Probes:
Why do you think that it was an academic integrity violation?
Did anyone else know about it? If so, who?
Would it be okay for some people to know about it? Would it not be okay for other people to know about it?]

13. Can you think of any time that someone has accused you of an academic integrity violation? If so, please describe it.
Probes:
Who accused you?
What did they accuse you of?
Did you actually do what you were accused of doing?
What happened afterwards?
How did you feel about this experience?

Now I would like to ask you a few questions about your home country and academic integrity violations. First, I want to confirm that your home country is
_____.

14. Do you feel like the way academic integrity works at your current institution is the same as in higher education institutions in your home country? Why or why not? (examples: how it is defined, how it is monitored/detected, whether and how it is reported, how it is dealt with or addressed, whether and what punishments are meted out)
Required Probes:
What things seem similar or the same to you? Can you give me any examples?
What things seem different? Can you give me any examples?

15. I'd like you to think now about yourself now and yourself in the past. You have been in the US for a while now, and you probably have had to learn about academic integrity in your time at this institution. When you now think about your perspective on academic integrity (and academic integrity violations) compared to your perspective before you came to the US, what differences can you think of?

16. I'd like you to think about one of the examples you mentioned earlier (about you or someone you observed engaging in behavior that could be considered an academic integrity violation at your current institution). Imagine that the same thing happened

in a higher education institution in your home country. What do you think would happen there?
Probe: Do you think it would be different outside of a higher education institution? High school, for example?

17. If you could tell faculty members and administrators at your current institution one thing about the academic integrity policy and its implementation at this institution (without worrying about them knowing that you said it), what would you tell them?

18. Finally, would you be willing to participate in another interview after I have talked with other students? This interview would be focused on what you think about the ideas that are raised during my other interviews.

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